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On the Intellectual Situation in France, September, 1920

BY BERNARD FAY

The average American or Englishman of 1920 who judges France does not realize that war has not been for her a nightmare as in Great Britain or in the United States, but a fact. It has been and it is. This fact is the main (maybe the only) source of misunderstanding between English idealism and French realism. It is at the same time the principal source of the actual conditions of arts and sciences in France. The five millions of French soldiers did not fight the war because it was the last, or because they hoped to establish the reign of a new moral, or because they wanted a new era of liberty and equality. They found these ideas very good, very attractive, and even cheering, but they fought because it was necessary. They were fonder of their civilization than of life, and such was their idealism, stubborn, clear, immediate. They were not only ready to give anything for liberty, they were actually giving. They were sure that so doing they helped the whole world, but they had no time to fancy how the world would use its new days of peace and freedom. They admired English strength, they loved American generosity and even liked the Saxon dream of the coming era. But death was present, ruin was present physical sufferings for everybody, immediate and continuous apprehension for everybody. And now in prosperous France ruin is present in the rich north, death is present in every home, every business, every newspaper, every literary review, where boys, one million and three hundred thousands, did not come back.

War for a great many English and Americans was a superb exaltation. To go abroad as a Crusader, to fear nothing, and die for a noble ideal, to contemplate destroyed cities and annihilated countries. Was it not a philosophical teaching and an excitement to the broadest understandings? It is not strange that nearly everywhere in the English and American world democratic mysticism has grown during the war. In these minds deeply impressed with social questions, new hopes and a new faith has flourished. They call it "modern idealism," and they are shocked that France, for whom, after all, everybody fought, gives now to the world a spectacle of such realism and apparent selfishness. And there is a part of truth in their reproaches: France has lost the faith. In 1913 France was sincerely peaceful. Militarism was hated. The republican government enjoyed an honest popu-

larity; an increasing number of people were convinced that science, industry and democracy meant progress, and that progress was driving humanity towards a time of peace, equality, happiness. They believed in the principle of nationality as giving to men the real frame they needed for their activities and so making big wars impossible. If intellectuals and philosophers were criticising these ideas it was from an abstract point of view and only because France, the first to experience democracy and faith in progress, had been given more time to see their deficiencies. But war with all its evils taught the great mass of the nation that industry and science and democracy were as good tools of destruction as of creation, that they had really no moral value. War showed that modern does not mean necessarily more human or better. What war was more cruel than this one? Democracy, socialism were pitifully unable to avert it or to stop it. And the principle of nationality, which had organized big national bodies, was giving a more horrible character to the struggle by making it more general, better organized, and using all the resources of humanity. The efficiency of democracy itself seemed open to criticism. Autocracy won during three years with William II, then dictatorship with Wilson and Clemenceau, now with Lenine. In the trenches the notion of progress did not seem clear, or even intelligible. And now after five years of the most horrible war, two years of the most difficult peace, when we sum up, we find that the principal gains of intellectual France, since 1913, are new skepticisms. All the political and social enthusiasm of the last century is broken. It is realized that the principle of nationality has only been an imperfect conception and does not carry with itself eternal peace, happiness and good results; realized that democratic faith has been a lure devoid of any practical strength and unable to inspire men with paternity and humanity, realized that the hypothesis of progress (I mean a real progress, in happiness and morality), is the most unreasonable of all chimeras. Socialism itself, with its apparent generosity and broadmindedness did nothing serious to stop the war, but succeeded in creating some new ones, killing thousands of people, and at all events, suppressing the freedom of many men. Socialism, as we saw it from our critical country of France, seemed to us a noble and unmerciful religion, eager to sup-

press all the individualities with the hope of a universal happiness a few centuries hence. Consequently you would see that in sharp contrast with English Liberals the largest part of French intellectuals and the nation has drawn from the war political agnosticism. Here and there you would find old-fashioned believers like Anatole France and Romain Rolland, but they have practically no followers, not that France, as too many Englishmen and Americans think, is becoming reactionary and will re-establish monarchy under its old form, aristocracy and power of the church. These are childish ideas. The real meaning of French skepticism is that the whole work of a century of social research and democratic faith has been found unable to give a firm and lasting happiness. But the Frenchmen feel that the most immediate need is to give more practical freedom, more opportunities, more excitement, more originalities to every person in the nation. Their individualism is stronger than it has ever been. They think that the time is ripe to find new ideas, new methods, new principles to develop personality as a century and a half ago they invented the democratic principles. Everywhere in France you would see that one does not consider, as in England, the ideas of today or those of yesterday as modern, but those of tomorrow, and all the minds are bent to invent.

Everybody wants to create something new in his own domain. There is no single idea universally accepted, no triumphant methods, no enthusiasm carrying a general approbation. There are millions of minds trained by an old civilization, loving life, art and ideas, rather critical, but wonderfully acute and open. They refuse to admit the superiority of any point of view over the others and they try to develop to the utmost the originality of every man, of every technic, of every point of view. Social life or economic situation is only one question amongst many others, and must not be taken as the Gordian knot of modern life. There is not one Gordian knot. There are hundreds. Thus seeking variety, freedom and novelty, the French mind was particularly fit to artistic activity, and the production of works of art since the armistice has been remarkable in Paris. In no other place in Europe can be seen so many paintings, heard so many concerts, read so many new books. In this year alone, a year of hard life and restriction, twenty reviews entirely devoted to literary questions have been founded in Paris. New schools of poetry, music, painting are flourishing. Many people, and mostly the foreign travelers, are struck only by the character of strangeness of these works. The French cubism in these three arts is taken as mere madness, nobody tries to understand that the new painting in its efforts to express the feelings through a construction of lines and colors free from any material imitation, aims really to conquer a broader, a younger field. Very few observers have seen that the boldness of the musical school of Satie consisted in taking as means of expression for the artist these harmonic and melodic innovations which, before him, were generally used to astonish the public

and give him a strong physical excitement. Who has discovered that the poetic group of Jean Cocteau, Max Jacob, Aragonck, far from intending to be unintelligible was working to give a new strength and a more popular support to French literature and language? They are trying to build a new poetry on a new vocabulary and a new grammar, as did Ronsard.

Why do all these inventions, each of them being very logical, seem so queer? The public is not accustomed to see anything new. Most of the time, what we call new in social life or politics or industry is merely a transposition of a habit or idea taken in another domain and familiar to us. If romanticism succeeded so easily and so quickly at the beginning of the last century, the reason is that it only took some elements of religious mysticism, of political enthusiasm, and infused them in the literary life. Its inventions, from the point of view of language, technics, poetics, were poor and rare. Now to understand modern French music or painting or poetry, a knowledge of social questions, or economic problems does not help very much. Some artistic taste, some intellectual training, some experience of the previous forms of arts are most needed and most lacking. From the long, confused and verbose discussions of the literary critics, the public must deduce the death-knell of romanticism, which was founded on principles, feelings and technical habits, now entirely neglected. Admirers and detractors are, in 1920, equally free from its influence. The young poets are no more romantic because Hugo lived in France from 1802 to 1885, than they are classicists because Racine lived in France from 1639 to 1699. Hugo and the romanticists have been their predecessors, nothing more. Their methodical research to expel from poetry all the elements which are not properly poetry (such as social principles, moral predication, even logicalities), to make works which would only and fully inspire poetic pleasures is exactly the opposite of romanticism which dreamed to conquer the whole world for poetry, and express the whole world through it. The aim of the French romanticists was to become priests of the holy poetry. The aim of Cocteau, Radiquet, etc., is to become professional poets. And their tendency is essentially the same as that of the larger part of the novelists, sociologists, scientists and philosophers; only they are a few years ahead of the others. No wonder a novelist is bound to satisfy a broad public and is not free to change his methods as quickly as he might wish. A sociologist is the servant of a half-educated group, and a politician of an unlettered crowd, unable to change his mind and follow the fast development of ideas. The philosophers who are lacking both readers and public would be more able to follow this movement, but their scrupulous minds are not trained to invent new ideas (particularly since the predominance of scientific methods in philosophy). They consider their task as rather one of organization, verification and utilization of thoughts previously experienced. In 1910 Bergson expressed what had been the prevalent ideas of poets from 1870 to 1890; intuition, symbol-

ism and subconscience. He is unable to understand and assimilate the acute intellectualism of the new schools. If in France itself such broad and supple minds as Bergson's cannot follow the course of intellectual life, it is quite natural that the foreigners should be mistaken about the value and the meaning of French art. American observers lack time and experience. They believe in progress, and think that progress is a regular and general movement. Social improvement, political trouble, and a big interest in economic questions seem for them to be the characteristic symptoms of progress. They cannot fancy how

a nation, devoid of any social excitement, could be at the same time modern, and enjoy an unequalled intensity of intellectual life. After all, art seems to them to be a mere luxury as long as society has not found its perfect organization. I was asked recently by an enlightened member of an American university how much the French government is spending for the development of arts. When I had told him with pride the large sum he appeared to grieve deeply for my poor country and find the most serious cause for fear, where I saw only reason for hope.

I dedicate to him these pages.

The American Position on the Revolution of 1848 in Germany

BY PROFESSOR R. C. McGRANE, UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI.

The wisdom of the policy so earnestly advocated by the founders of our nation, of abstaining from all intervention in the affairs of European nations, was never so clearly manifested as in the trying days of 1848. The whole continent of Europe was distracted by wars and revolutions; throne crumbled and peoples proclaimed their sovereignty as never before. Naturally, the people of the United States viewed with interest the progress of civil liberty, while at the same time endeavoring to maintain a strict and scrupulous adherence to our time-honored practice of non-intervention. In so doing, our path was beset with pitfalls; European diplomats endeavored to entangle us in the meshes of international law; imperialistic desires and economic interests confused our aims, and, as could be expected, party politics played its customary miserable part. To the Democratic President Polk and the Whig President Taylor, to Andrew Jackson Donelson, our ambassador at Berlin, and to James Buchanan and John M. Clayton, our Secretaries of State, were entrusted the honor and security of the nation; and as a result of their efforts, at times wise and again foolish, American neutrality ultimately overcame German designs.

The United States ambassador at Berlin in March of 1848 was Andrew Jackson Donelson, the nephew by marriage of the ex-President. With the outbreak of the revolution in France, Donelson's dispatches to the Secretary of State, James Buchanan, minutely described the course of the revolutionary movements in Europe. As he viewed it, the Germans were not likely to be affected greatly by the revolutionary activities of the French, for, as he declared, "the Germans love the substance of reform, but prefer to receive it as a concession from the King without risk of a civil war."¹ Moreover, the strong military party in Prussia, under the leadership of the Prince of Prussia, was on the lookout for radical actions;²

so if the King of Prussia would only admit the necessity of granting a written constitution and place himself at the head of reform, there could be no possibility of trouble.³ But, unfortunately, the King was not so disposed; and soon Berlin was engulfed in the terrible "March Days,"⁴ and the proud Hohenzollern,

¹ Donelson to Buchanan, March 10, 1848. Donelson Mss. Donelson was convinced that the Germanic Diet contained the germ of our representative principle. As he expressed it, "Germany . . . is better situated than France to adopt a system like ours. She has many local sovereignties, homogeneous in language and customs, but diversified in interests. France by herself will suffer from that tendency to consolidation which we have guarded by reservations of power to the states or the people."

² Donelson to Buchanan, March 18, 1848. Donelson Mss. In this despatch Donelson gives a graphic account of the tumultuous scenes in Berlin on this day, and closes his account with the following statement: "The whole spectacle is a humiliating lesson to us all; we see on the one hand that great curse of the age, a standing army, ready with its terrible power to crush the people, the guilty as well as the innocent. We see on the other both the monarch and the people, when this force is withdrawn, incapable of maintaining order. Happily we are exempt from such spectacles. We have only the people. May we avoid the misfortunes which produce either armies or kings."

On the 20th of March, Donelson, writing to Buchanan, commented on the character of the strife. "As an evidence of the character of the contest, I may mention the following incident: A commanding officer of one of the regiments led it to one of the barricades near the Palace. As he advanced to the charge a citizen mounted the barricade, and, crying out to his countrymen, calling them his children, said: 'My first fire shall be at the commanding officer.' He pulled the trigger, and the officer fell dead, but the brave man was soon cut to pieces by a volley from the soldiers. The houses in the neighborhood of this barricade were literally riddled by the musket balls and grape shot directed at the people within. Yet it was defended from six o'clock in the evening until three in the morning by means of tiles from roofs, stones, and brick-bats, and a few arms that could be procured."

¹ Donelson to Buchanan, March 4, 1848. Donelson Mss. in Library of Congress. Selections from Donelson's despatches have been published in the *American Historical Review*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 355-373.

² Donelson to Buchanan, March 8, 1848. Donelson Mss.

who had proclaimed "he would never permit a written constitution to exist between God and his people,"⁵ was only too willing to talk of concessions. Rumors of the reorganization of Prussia and Germany along the lines of the English form of government or our own Federal government began to spread throughout the land.⁶ Donelson was besought for copies of our state and federal constitutions,⁷ and men began to quote the *Federalist* in their meetings.⁸ Nevertheless, adhering rigidly to the doctrine that "good wishes and warm sympathies were all that we had to give,"⁹ Donelson studiously refrained from participating in the strife. However, he could not help lamenting in his dispatches the inability of the German to grasp the real essence of liberty and the potent power of the military machine arrayed against reform. "There never was such a field open to the Patriot, Statesman and Soldier of Europe," wrote Donelson on March 25, to Buchanan. "A character more like Washington than the great Frederic is wanted to give coherence and unity to the whole movement of Germany. A genius equal to Napoleon, but without his ambition, is necessary to conduct the military operations."¹⁰ Unfortunately, no such person was at hand, and all that Donelson and the Americans abroad could do was to set an example of how reform ought to be worked out. American newspapers at home suggested that Americans abroad should diffuse American ideas of liberty through the press of Germany. "They might preach moderation, making haste slowly; dealing with one difficulty at a time; *patience* under the progress of reformation; submission to the law until it can be improved; abstinence from all violence, all tyranny over others; the accomplishment of everything by suffrage, nothing by force. This is *American* liberty, and the American mode of conducting and maintaining it."¹¹ But to Donelson as our representative, this method of procedure was debarred. The law of nations required that he remain a silent spectator of events.

But with the assembling of the Frankfort Parliament on the 18th of May, Donelson thought he saw an opportunity for aiding his native land without breaking international law. An advantageous commercial treaty between the United States and the federalized Germany, abolishing unjust discriminating custom duties then existing within the German Confederation, and the reduction by the new government of the impost on tobacco, would mean much to the

business interests of our own land.¹² The United States might become the great commercial rival of England. Sir Stratford Canning, the astute diplomat of England, was even then in Berlin in conference with the King of Prussia.¹³ A Germany reformed after the political system of England would be most agreeable to Great Britain; but Donelson was quite sure that the main interest of England in the revolutionary actions in Germany was economic rather than political. "A United States of Germany," so wrote Donelson, "with a strong federal government, exercising exclusively the right to lay taxes on foreign imports . . . may do much to lessen the control which England has heretofore exercised on the continent by her commercial intercourse. A distrust derived from this cause made her unwilling to see the Zollverein extended." Hence it may be supposed that a successful union of the German States, with a Federal government, regulating her navigation and foreign commercial intercourse, will not be aided by British influence. "A union with less power associating the estates for military defense, and breaking down only the barriers in the interior to a free circulation—in other words, without the power to pass general discriminating and protective duties—would better suit her manufacturing ascendancy in the present markets of the continent. Our interest in the controversy is in harmony with our political sympathies. With a United States of Germany, possessing a federal authority, we can make better treaties and can calculate upon larger commercial intercourse than we can with some states regulated by independent systems. If as a whole these states adopt a protective or discriminating law, it will not be operative against us. It will be intended to increase the direct trade with us. If as a whole they adopt the free-trade system, we shall still have an advantage over any European nation . . .; and our shipping can compete with that of any other."¹⁴ Therefore Donelson deemed it advisable that the United States be represented in person at Frankfort for the purpose of safe-guarding our own interests; and with that end in view he besought the administration to instruct him to proceed thither.

¹² There is now an opening by which I can benefit my country, and I ask of the President the privilege to improve it. I do not suppose that we can reduce the tobacco duty immediately to 70 cents, but we can fix it at such a point as will gradually supersede the German cultivation and abolish the unjust discrimination at present existing. The transit duties fall as a matter of course of themselves with the adoption of an import system similar to ours." Donelson to Buchanan, April 3, 1848. Donelson Mss.

¹³ Donelson to Buchanan, March 30, 1848; April 3, 1848. For a good description of England's relations with Prussia during this period, consult Lane, Poole, Stanley, *Life of the Right Honourable Sir Stratford Canning*, Vol. II, pp. 167, 169, 170 (London, 1888); *Diplomatic Reminiscences of Lord Augustus Loftus, 1837-1862*, pp. 126-129 (London, 1862).

¹⁴ Donelson to Buchanan, March 30, 1848. Donelson Mss. Also in *American Historical Review*, Vol. XXIII, p. 372.

⁵ Donelson to Buchanan, March 23, 1848. Donelson Mss.

⁶ Donelson to Buchanan, March 21-23, 1848. Donelson Mss.

⁷ Donelson to Buchanan, March 23, 1848; April 8, 1848. Donelson Mss.

⁸ Donelson to Buchanan, March 30, 1848. Donelson Mss.

⁹ Quoted in the *National Intelligencer*, May 2, 1848.

¹⁰ Donelson to Buchanan, March 25, 1848. Donelson Mss.

¹¹ *Public Ledger* quoted in *National Intelligencer*, December 12, 1848.

Donelson's proposal received the hearty approval of the authorities in Washington. With the installation of the Archduke John of Austria on the 12th of July as regent of the German¹⁵ Empire, the Polk administration determined to act. On August 5 Donelson was nominated by Polk as "Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the German Confederation at Frankfort,"¹⁶ and was ordered thither, with the admonition, however, that he was not to remove his residence from Berlin, nor antagonize the Prussian government, nor take any part in the reform efforts. He was simply to act as a silent witness, reporting all matters to his home government, especially those connected with the new commercial policy about to be inaugurated. The most important object of his mission was to obtain such an adjustment of the German tariff as would admit our important productions to German ports at a reasonable duty.¹⁷

Thus the United States intended to maintain the position of an interested spectator, who, by her example, so hoped to influence the affairs in Germany that a government in accord with the people's ideals should be erected. A federalized government would aid us materially; but the United States was determined to take no part in its erection.

Meanwhile the German envoy in Washington, Baron von Roenne, was principally interested in pushing the imperialistic designs of his own land. These centered about the Schleswig Holstein problem which had arisen with the outbreak of the revolutions in Europe.¹⁸ The duchies had revolted against the rule of Denmark, and had expressed a strong wish to be considered a part of the German family. The King of Prussia, in order to distract his subjects' attention from local questions, and also for the purpose of aiding the Germans in these duchies, had promptly come to their aid, and on the 6th of April a body of Prussian troops had crossed the Holstein frontier. Six days later the Frankfort Parliament approved the conduct of Prussia, and ordered other German troops to co-operate with the Prussian forces. In the war that ensued the Prussian troops more than held their own on land; but on sea, the naval supremacy of the

Danes worked havoc to Prussian commerce.¹⁹ Therefore, with the signing of an armistice by the belligerents, on August 26, which was to last seven months,²⁰ Prussia had determined to prepare for the future in the eventuality of the renewal of the war. And it was to this task that the German envoy turned his attention.

The aid of the United States was besought by Prussia to establish an efficient naval force for the purpose of protecting her commerce. Donelson had previously informed the administration of Prussia's need;²¹ and, perhaps actuated by a desire to show the friendliness of the American people in all that pertained to the Germans, and also, perhaps, moved by the effect that such actions would have on the future commercial relations of the two lands, the Secretary of the Navy, on December 16, 1848, granted Commodore Parker leave of absence to proceed to Berlin. He was ordered to converse "frankly and unreservedly with the proper functionaries," and inform himself as to what was desired by the Prussian government; what service was to be expected; for what length of time, and on what conditions.²² On January 15, 1849, the Commodore dined with the King of Prussia; and on the 18th with the President of the Council of State and the Minister of Commerce and Marine of the German empire. Parker found that "little or nothing had been done for the creation of a navy," and that "no one seemed to understand what would be the plans to prevent a blockade of these ports, in the event of a renewal of the war with Denmark." A mere handful of German vessels opposed the Danish navy, consisting at that time of 1035 guns and 9755 men. As the time for the armistice was soon to expire, as Germany had no navy ready to defend herself, and as the difficulties surrounding the creation of a German nation were manifold, Parker deemed "it would be unwise for the officers of the American navy to have anything to do with Germany . . . except in the way of advice," and on the 10th of February embarked for home.²³

Undaunted by his rebuff, the German envoy at Washington continued his efforts on behalf of the

¹⁵ *Annual Register*, 1848, p. 367.

¹⁶ Quaife, M. M. (editor), "The Diary of James K. Polk," Vol. IV, pp. 47, 48, 55-57 (Chicago, 1910).

¹⁷ Buchanan to Donelson, July 24, 1848; August 3, 1848; August 7, 1848. Instructions of Secretary of State to our Ambassador to Germany in the State Department, Washington, D. C. In these instructions Buchanan emphasized the fact that the President did not wish to antagonize Prussia by sending Donelson to Frankfort.

¹⁸ For an excellent brief account of this most complicated question, consult *Annual Register*, 1848, pp. 338-352. At this time the Duchies contained a population of 804,000; the entire population of Denmark, including the Duchies, was 2,087,000 in 1840. The average imports of the Duchies from 1839 to 1843 was 2,102,000 pounds sterling; the exports, 2,111,000 pounds. Cf., *National Intelligencer*, May 11, 1848.

¹⁹ *National Intelligencer*, June 3, 1848.

²⁰ *Annual Register*, 1848, p. 351.

²¹ In this connection Donelson had written as follows to Buchanan: "Whilst such is the critical state of Europe, permit me to suggest the advantage of having a portion of our fleet in or near the Baltic, as well as in the Mediterranean. Should the hostilities (Schleswig Holstein), already threatened, and said to-day to be actually commenced, continue for some period, our ships in that sea will be liable to internment; but there may be an additional benefit resulting from the presence of our fleet, at the time when Germany is projecting the plan of a commercial union, the leading object of which is to give her a flag on the ocean, and an increased trade with us. Her good intentions in this respect deserve to be stimulated and respected." Donelson to Buchanan, April 11, 1848. Donelson Mss.

²² Senate Exec. Doc., 31 Cong., 1 Session, Vol. I, p. 19.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 20, 21.

fatherland. On January 30, 1849, von Roenne addressed a long note to the Secretary of the Navy, John Mason, requesting copies of the laws connected with our navy; the regulations of the Navy Department relating to the duties of officers on board vessels of war, in navy yards, on recruiting service or in naval hospitals; the penal system and the organization of the medical department and the naval school; plans of our navy yards, drawings of dry docks, workshops and machinery; draughts of guns and gun carriages, and general ordnance regulations; and finally a list of the works used in the navy of the United States, and considered valuable on the subject of the construction of men-of-war, artillery, navigation and naval tactics.²⁴ A week later, Mason, "appreciating," as he said, "the high compliment paid to our country by Germany's requests," announced that the drawings would be prepared under the direction of the Bureau of Construction, Equipment and Repair, at Germany's expense.²⁵ Not satisfied with this phenomenal generosity, Germany aggressively enlarged her demands. The Minister of Commerce and Marine had already sent a Mr. Medding to the United States to buy a steam frigate.²⁶ Now Baron von Roenne audaciously requested the United States government to designate an officer of the rank of lieutenant or commander to proceed to New York, assist in the purchase of such a vessel, superintend her arming and equipment, engage the crew and officers, and when ready, to take her to Bremerhaven and there receive the further orders of the Prussian government.²⁷ Once more the Navy Department assented, and Commodore Perry was instructed to aid Baron von Roenne.²⁸ Captain McKeever, Commandant of the United States Navy Yard at New York, was ordered to keep an account of the materials furnished the German agents;²⁹ and Commander Hudson, at the request of one of these agents, consented

to superintend the details of the equipment of the vessel.³⁰

So far the path of the German emissary had been strewn with roses. But the storm was beginning to brew in the offing. The easy-going Democratic Polk, himself an imperialist and surrounded with such imperialists and commercial advisers as Robert J. Walker and James Buchanan, was soon to give place to the Whig, Zachary Taylor, who as a good soldier would not sanction the suspicion of an evasion of the law. Therefore, perhaps realizing the seriousness of the case—especially in view of the fact that the period of the armistice was drawing to a close, and both sides were preparing for war—the administration decided to forestall criticism; and on March 1, 1849, three days before the inauguration of President Taylor, Mason informed von Roenne that the United States could not permit her officers to enter the service of Germany.

Mason's dispatch to von Roenne contains a number of significant statements. Commodore Parker had just returned to the United States, and his official report on conditions abroad undoubtedly had great weight with President Polk. Mason stated that he was directed by the President "to inform your Excellency that, under existing circumstances, he does not consider it advisable to ask of Congress authority to permit officers of the American navy to enter foreign service. It may be stated with confidence that if the application were made, the business of Congress for the short period of the session remaining will be so urgent that there can be no hope entertained that the proposition will be favorably considered." Then after calling the Baron's attention to the constitutional prohibition of any officer of the United States accepting "any present, emolument, office, or title" from "any King, Prince or foreign state," Mason concluded as follows: "The policy of the United States has always been to abstain from interference in the wars of nations in amity with us. We were ready, as far as could be lawfully done, to permit our officers to aid in building up the German navy; but in case of war with Denmark, while both belligerents are at peace and in friendship with the United States, our officers could not be permitted to take part in the hostile operations of either."³¹

³⁰ House Exec. Doc., 31 Cong., 1 Session, Vol III, Pt. I, pp. 29-31. Commodore Perry later declared that he was confident "neither Baron von Roenne nor the agents of the vessel would sanction any step that would infringe the laws of the United States; and it could hardly be supposed that myself, or any of the several officers of the navy taking a part in the equipment of the ship, would countenance, directly or indirectly, any such irregularity."

Baron von Roenne assured Commodore Perry that he had consulted "with Mr. Butler, former United States District Attorney of New York, upon the legality of the proposed equipment of the vessel."

The agent referred to above was a Mr. Victor, a merchant of New York.

³¹ Ibid., pp. 27, 28.

²⁴ Ibid., pp. 22, 23.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 24. "Admiration of the wisdom and patriotism of the governments and the people of the German empire, in securing civil liberty by the establishment of their Confederation, as well as the high respect entertained for you personally, will make it always highly agreeable to me (Mason) to communicate any information at my command which may be deemed useful in founding a naval establishment worthy of the German empire."

²⁶ Ibid., pp. 21, 22.

²⁷ Ibid., pp. 24, 25. In this connection Baron von Roenne wrote as follows: "Commodore Parker having suggested that his government would be inclined to give an officer of the rank above designated a furlough of nine months, it is requested that this may be done. That officer will, during that time, be engaged in the German service, with one grade higher than he holds in the United States service, and will receive the same pay and emoluments as in the American service."

²⁸ Ibid., p. 25.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 26.

With the advent of the Whig administration a new policy began to evolve. On the 19th of March, the Secretary of the Navy ordered Commodore Perry to "abstain from any further participation" in the preparation of the steamship "United States," the name of the German vessel;³² and similar orders were sent to Captain McKeever at the Navy Yard.³³ The next day the Secretary of State, J. M. Clayton, called for all the correspondence at the disposal of the Navy Department covering the case.³⁴ On the 2d of April, Denmark, now at war with Germany, protested through her legation at Washington to the federal authorities;³⁵ on the 3d the Secretary of the Navy furnished Clayton with the desired information;³⁶ and on the 10th the Secretary notified von Roenne of the new administration's intentions.³⁷

The bounden duty of the executive was, declared Clayton, to take care that there should be no violation or infringement of the neutrality laws of the United States by either of the belligerents abroad—Denmark or Germany; and the minister's attention was called to the stringent provisions of the act of Congress of the 20th of April, 1818, which covered such questions as were involved in the present issue;³⁸ and of the President's determination, not only as a result of Denmark's protest, but through a sense of justice and good faith, to enforce the provisions of this law. However, continued Clayton, if the envoy would solemnly assure the administration that the "vessel was not destined and intended to be, and will not be, employed by your government against any power with which the United States are now at peace, such assurance, on your part will be deemed a sufficient pledge," and the vessel, under the true character of a German vessel, would be allowed to clear the port of New York. Four days later the German envoy defended at length the actions of his government, and claimed the exemption of the "United States" steamer

³² Ibid., p. 28.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Senate Exec. Doc., 31 Cong., 1 Session, Vol. I, p. 18.

³⁵ House Exec. Doc., 31 Cong., 1 Session, Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 49.

³⁶ Senate Exec. Doc., 31 Cong., 1 Session, Vol. I, p. 18.

³⁷ House Exec. Doc., 31 Cong., 1 Session, Vol. III, Pt. I, pp. 32, 33. A copy of this note was sent to Donelson. He was instructed to present a copy of this to the Minister for Foreign Relations and to forward a copy to Mr. Fay, to be submitted to the Prussian Government. Ibid., pp. 58, 59.

³⁸ "Its tenth section requires the forcible detention of vessels of the character described . . . when about to depart under circumstances which render it probable that they are intended to commit hostilities against a friendly power. Another section, the 3d, imposes a fine and imprisonment on all persons engaged in such enterprises, and also the forfeiture of said vessels, to enter into a bond to the United States not to commit hostilities against any nation with which the United States are at peace. By the 8th section of the act, the President is fully empowered and required to execute the law by carrying all its provisions into effect." Ibid., pp. 32, 33.

from the provisions of the former act of Congress. Relating in detail the part that the Polk administration had taken in aiding his efforts, he affirmed that in all his conversations with the Secretary of State (Buchanan) and with the Secretary of the Treasury (Walker) he had avowed his intention of abiding by the Act of April 20, 1818; and he now claimed, on the professional opinion of a distinguished member of the New York Bar, that the provisions of this act did not apply to his particular steamer for the *immediate intent* was not to use it in an *aggressive or offensive* naval operation. But, as von Roenne reiterated, it had been purchased with the intent to proceed to Bremerhaven, there to receive the further orders of the German government. "The nature and particulars of such further orders, it is, of course," cynically wrote the envoy, "impossible for the undersigned, or any one else to anticipate, since they must of necessity depend upon the contingencies which shall then exist and which cannot now be foreseen."³⁹ Taylor immediately referred the case to the Attorney General,⁴⁰ who on the 28th of April rendered an opinion that the Act of 1818 did cover the case because: "(1) a state of war still exists between Denmark and the German empire . . . and did exist during the fitting out of the steamer; (2) that fitted out as an armed vessel of the German government, she will cruise and commit hostilities against Denmark; (3) a ship so armed and fitted, when on the high seas, in a state of war, is false to its flag and its honor, if it does not 'commit hostilities' upon an enemy whenever and wherever it meets one. The *intent* of her employment . . . cannot be peaceful; it must be warlike. Whether the meeting is accidental or designed, the conflict is intentional."⁴¹ Fortified by this argument Clayton once more addressed the German ambassador, and, presenting the Attorney General's arguments, declared the case closed, and that von Roenne must abide by the law.⁴² But the intrepid von Roenne insisted on continuing the discussion. In a message dated May 1, 1849, he argued that as all his actions had been open and with the concurrence of the late government, his case did not come under the act; and, secondly, he cited a case which seemed to substantiate his arguments regarding the distinction between proximate and ulterior intents as criminal offenses.⁴³ Four days later, however,

⁴⁰ Reverdy Johnson, of Maryland.

⁴¹ Ibid., pp. 39, 40.

⁴² Ibid., pp. 38, 39.

⁴³ Ibid., pp. 39-42. The case that von Roenne cited was that of the "United States vs. John D. Quincy," Peter's Reports, Vol. VI, pp. 445, 466. In this case the Supreme Court of the United States had rendered the following decision: "The offence," the court says, "consists principally in the intention with which the preparations were made. These preparations, according to the very terms of the act,

Clayton absolutely demolished the German's arguments, and settled the question so far as official Washington was concerned.

One by one Clayton took up the arguments of von Roenne and utterly annihilated them. Von Roenne was reminded that the President of the United States holds no dispensing power; that he has no power to sanction any act that violates an established law of the land; and that if the past executive, perhaps for good reasons, concurred in von Roenne's actions, he must not confound the executive with the whole government, and must not declare he had the concurrence of the government of the United States for his acts. Then drawing from von Roenne's own dispatches and those of other German officials, Clayton showed: (1) That the government of Germany had intended to purchase a large steamer for its service; (2) that Germany had declared it was of the highest importance that the "United States" steamer should be put to sea with the greatest possible dispatch, under the American flag, with as full a crew as possible and with her armament in her hold as a cargo; (3) that Germany had declared she wanted United States officers for active service abroad; (4) that the "United States" steamer was to receive "further orders" when she reached Bremerhaven; (5) that there was little hope of peace between Denmark and Germany. Therefore, in view of these facts, the United States would be breaking her neutrality if she allowed the steamer "United States" to sail, and to safeguard herself she now felt that von Roenne must give a bond of the peaceable intent of the "United States" steamer.⁴⁴

Nevertheless, von Roenne tried once more to influence the administration's policy, for the Clayton manuscripts in the Library of Congress disclose the fact that four days after the envoy had received Clayton's communication, he addressed a private letter to the Secretary requesting him to instruct the Collector of the Port of New York to consider three good friends of the German government as sufficient surety for the bond, with the understanding that if they did not pay the German government would stand responsible; and further that the German vessel be allowed to clear the harbor with as little notoriety as possible.⁴⁵ This plea was rejected, and on the 24th of May the bond was given⁴⁶ by the proper authorities, must be made within the limits of the United States, and it is equally necessary that the intention with respect to the employment of the vessel should be formed before she leaves the United States. And this should be a fixed intention; not conditional or contingent, depending on some future arrangement." The above sentences were italicized in von Roenne's note.

⁴⁴ Ibid., pp. 42-47. Clayton also took up a discussion of the case cited above and demonstrated that von Roenne had not clearly presented the facts of the case.

⁴⁵ Von Roenne to Clayton, May 9, 1849. Clayton Mss. in the Library of Congress.

⁴⁶ House Exec. Doc., 31 Cong., 1 Session, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 47.

and the vessel, now called the "Horsa," was allowed soon after to leave American waters. Twenty-four hours out from New York she struck on the South Shoal off Nantucket, remained for four hours and was compelled to throw overboard seventy tons of coal. She subsequently damaged one of her boilers so much as to render it useless for the remainder of the voyage. In June she arrived at Liverpool,⁴⁷ where she was further held for repairs, and on account of the war being waged between Denmark and Germany, was detained there. The following month the armistice was renewed, and "with it were concluded preliminaries of peace."⁴⁸ Thus Germany was never able to employ the vessel against Denmark.⁴⁹

Meanwhile the diplomatic tangle had reached the ears of the public through the publication of the entire correspondence in the newspapers, and party politics began to play its part. The *Washington Union*, as a Democratic organ, severely criticized the Whig administration for the methods Taylor had employed.⁵⁰ Immediately the *National Intelligencer* came to the support of the Whig President. The *National Intelligencer* defied the *Union* to publish the facts and defend Polk and Buchanan;⁵¹ the *New York Commercial Advertiser* complimented the Whig administration on handling the dangerous legacy of the Polk regime;⁵² the *Savannah Republican* proclaimed Taylor a "safe President, his policy a wise one, and his determination patriotic;"⁵³ the *New York Express* approved Taylor's peaceful actions "by following in the footsteps of Washington, by embroiling ourselves in the party politics of no nation, and by keeping aloof as a government, from the excitements of all;" the *Pittsburgh Commercial Journal* lauded the eminent abilities and statesmanship of Clayton; while the *Springfield (Mass.) Republican and Gazette* declared Clayton's despatch to the German Powers, "a model document, conceived in a strong friendly spirit, and executed with a dignity creditable alike to him and the government he represents."⁵⁴ To increase further the political discomfiture of the Democrats the European press expressed their decided approval of Taylor's action. "Nothing is better calculated to raise the character of the American government in Europe," declared

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 67. Cf., also account of vessel in *New York Tribune*, July 7, 1849.

⁴⁸ Dawson, W. H., "The German Empire, 1867-1914," Vol. I, p. 175 (New York, 1919). Clayton definitely instructed Donelson that an armistice did not mean a state of peace; and therefore the "Horsa" must abide by the obligations of her bond. Cf., House Exec. Doc., 31 Cong., 1 Session, Vol. III, Pt. I, pp. 63, 64.

⁴⁹ *National Intelligencer*, October 20, 1849.

⁵⁰ Quoted in *National Intelligencer*, June 14, 1849.

⁵¹ *National Intelligencer*, July 2, 1849.

⁵² Quoted in the *National Intelligencer*, June 10, 1849.

⁵³ Quoted in the *National Intelligencer*, June 27, 1849.

⁵⁴ All quoted in the *National Intelligencer*, June 23, 1849.

Europe, "than a strict observance of all the great principles of international morality."⁵⁵

With such warm approval from all sides, some of the friends of Taylor urged the administration to take an even more pronounced and important stand in the international affairs of the world. With Europe engulfed in revolutions, with Germany engaged in an unjust war, with Germany, Austria and Russia mobilizing their forces against the democratic elements within their territories, why could not the United States take a more vigorous stand in behalf of justice and fair play? On July 20, 1849, Crittenden wrote Clayton, urging him to speak out against the wrongs of Europe. "Must our voice be unheard and not a word said by us on the great issue that is now under trial? God forbid! Such a course would not be neutrality, it would be the abandonment and betrayal of our principles and of every just and noble sympathy. I would ever avoid all propagandism, but I would seize every occasion and opportunity of *speaking aloud* the sentiments and sympathies of the Republic, and especially on all those questions, in which we, as one of the family of nations, are ever so remotely interested. And surely as one of the family of nations we are interested in the preservation and due observance of the laws of nations."⁵⁶ But Clayton refused to change from his original path of non-interference in European affairs. "The sympathies of the government and the people of the United States were undoubtedly with the parties abroad that were struggling for the sovereignty of the people," wrote Clayton to Donelson, but so long as the contest between the Princes and the people continued, our duty was "steadfastly to adhere to the great rule laid down by the Father of his Country, 'to avoid all entangling alliances with foreign governments.'" We as a nation were ready and willing to recognize any government, *de facto*, which appeared capable of maintaining its power; and if either a republican form of government, or that of a limited monarchy were adopted by any of the states of Germany, we were bound to be the first, if possible, to hail the birth of the new government. But if the people should be overwhelmed in the struggle; if the power of the bayonet should prevail against them, Donelson as the representative of the nation, was to confine himself strictly to the duty of transmitting to the home government the actions he had witnessed.⁵⁷ The President's message in December reiterated the same principles of neutrality; and since Germany seemed unable to settle her constitutional difficulties, the President advised the recall of Donelson and the closing of the Frankfort mission.⁵⁸ Ac-

cordingly, with due ceremony, Donelson bade adieu to the Archduke John,⁵⁹ and on the 22d of the month arrived in Washington.⁶⁰

So closed the Donelson mission and so closed the United States relations with Germany during the trying days of 1848. Yet in evaluating the significance of the United States' position during this period, a number of rather interesting points are disclosed. The policy of the United States abroad, whether under a Democratic or Whig administration, as revealed in the instructions to Donelson, demonstrated the desire of our nation to remain aloof from all foreign entanglements. And in carrying out these orders the nation was certainly well represented by Donelson. But at home, due perhaps to the desire of the Polk administration to further our commercial relations with the new Germany, the authorities allowed the German agents too much license. But with the advent of the strict soldier Whig, the law of the land was rigidly enforced with the result that our neutrality abroad seemed much more real than previously. The nation approved heartily of the policy of the new government, but at the same time the people yearned for a more outspoken statement against the wrongs of the oppressed of Europe. And as the cause of small Denmark aroused their interest, so gradually the cause of all those oppressed appealed to them. Clayton and Taylor refused, however, to go farther than the mere reading of the law of neutrality; but undoubtedly in the strong protest made by Clayton in behalf of Denmark lay the germ of Webster's later vigorous stand against Baron Hulsemann.

⁵⁹ *National Intelligencer*, December 4, 1849.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, December 22, 1849.

In *Blackwoods* for August, appears an article on "Swift and Ireland," by J. A. Strahan, in which the author says:

"On a false issue, Swift won a true victory for Ireland. The English exploitation of the country received from him its first setback. And when he had won his victory, he practically abandoned his false issue. In the seventh letter which was not published until the heat of the contest was past, he explains his real objects; and these included not merely the rejection of Wood's pence and the establishment of a national mint, but the civilization of the native Irish, the encouragement of manufactures, the stoppage of the pernicious practice of turning agricultural into grazing lands and the planting of forest trees of which the country was then being denuded to produce the charcoal for iron-smelting. If his proposal had been carried out, Ireland today would be a very different country in population, character and even climate."

One of the most able articles on the League of Nations is that published in the *Asiatic Review* for July, 1920, entitled "India and the League of Nations," in which the author, Kanhayalal Gauba, most decidedly favors the League as it now stands and discusses its main clauses with reference to Indian affairs. He claims, however, that "India's new position under the League calls for the most thorough restatement of the theories of Indian policy and the future of Indian diplomacy."

⁵⁵ House Exec. Doc., 31 Cong., 1 Session, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 68.

⁵⁶ Crittenden to Clayton, July 20, 1849. Clayton Mss.

⁵⁷ Clayton to Donelson, July 8, 1849. Instructions of Secretary of State to our Envoy to Germany. In the State Department, Washington, D. C.

⁵⁸ Senate Exec. Doc., 31 Cong., 1 Session, Vol. I, pp. 4, 5.

Some Phases of a Military Experience

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The departure of the 85th Division from Camp Custer, Mich., in July, 1918, paved the way for the inception of the 14th Division—a regular army unit scheduled for combat service overseas. At the time of the departure of the "85th," I was on "special duty" at the Camp War Risk Insurance office. Prior to this, I had been doing company clerk's work in the 13th Company of the 160th Depot Brigade. Not all my time, however, was so pleasantly passed. On several occasions I took my turn washing dishes, shoveling gravel, scrubbing floors, and, at odd intervals, drilling.

As might be expected, I found army life much different from that of a college instructor. At times I felt, and still feel, that from the point of view of the military, my collegiate preparation had been in vain. Had I thrown aside my doctorate in April, 1917, and rushed off to a training school, I probably would never have been in the ranks. In that event, however, I would have been deprived of the unique experiences I did enjoy from contact with the private and "non-com." At the time, however, I believed my training would, when drafted, earn for me some recognition. The Selective Service Act, the Personnel Work—all assured me that I would be placed where I was best suited. And so I remained at Pennsylvania and graduated.

Although debarred at an early date, by reason of having passed the physical examination, from entering any of the special forms of service, still my hopes ran high, and after several months as a private, I was duly promoted to the rank of corporal. It was made to feel, however, that the promotion entailed added work and responsibilities, and later found that that work was to be utilized solely for the advance of the company commander. Even when on special duty at the insurance office and later at the Camp Headquarters, this captain made considerable effort to have me relieved from these places which alone seemed to hold forth any opportunity for advancement, so that I might once more type letters, wash dishes and the like for him.

It was while working at the insurance office that I came in contact with several thousand men of the June draft. Most of these were rushed through a physical examination in a single day, and, if accepted, were assigned to units in the 85th Division, and departed—some still in civilian clothes—for France and Archangel. While this division was boarding train, I received through a non-commissioned officer friend of mine, and not from the Personnel Office, the information that there was an opening at the Camp Headquarters, and that if interested he would see to it that I might possess the same.

Needless to say, I availed myself of this opportunity, and thus at length found myself at the desk of

the Regimental Sergeant Major of the Adjutant's office, which by August became the Adjutant's Office of the 14th Division. This division never saw service abroad, although it doubtless would have in the course of a few months had not the armistice intervened. At its greatest size, it numbered approximately 22,000 men, most of whom were drafted. During the eight months of its existence, the division had several commanding officers, and numerous different heads and assistants in the various divisional offices. While in the Adjutant's Office, I came under six different Adjutants, each of whom possessed his own particular theories and ideas—which, of course, were duly tested out regardless of all else. This same constant changing of officers was to be seen in the Chief of Staff's, the Quartermaster's, Ordnance and Personnel offices. One of these officers was the individual who doubtless made the strongest impression on the camp of all the officers with whom I came in contact; a large heavy set man, possessed of much determination, but whose energy seemed to be hopelessly lost in the enormous mass of petty detail with which he unnecessarily burdened himself. I recall this amusing incident: One hot Sunday afternoon in August (Sunday afternoons were my only afternoons off, save when on pass) I stood at his desk for more than an hour, listening to him tell and illustrate how he desired the technical arrangement of a simple daily report, to be made. Several good sheets of paper were marked up, with carefully ruled lines, each minutely labelled for this or that purpose—only to be discarded on account of some slight error, i. e., the space at this end of the column was wider than that at the other. And then he tried it again, and again, and finally dismissed me by saying, "Well, I will leave the mechanical features to you."

Fortunately, most of my time was spent in the Adjutant's Office. The particular task, at which another Sergeant and I labored, was that of preparing daily, the Divisional "Morning Report." This in itself necessitated considerable work—largely statistical in nature. Any change in the personnel of officers or men of the division from one day to another had to be duly noted and accounted for, with the authority for each change. On the basis of this report, which was compiled from the morning reports of the various divisional and camp units, there was rendered every fifteen days a telegraphic and written report to Washington on the strength of the division and camp. Necessarily all this information had to be collected from the various units in the cantonment, and upon the accuracy of their work depended the accuracy of my reports. Fortunately, I was able to check up their statements and deduct any error—and there were many, far too many to do credit to the various officers who rendered these reports. Simple problems in ad-

dition required most frequent correction; failure to render reports on proper forms, or when properly rendered to place facts under wrong citations, although printed instructions were to be found on each and every report; the return of one Brigade never, to my knowledge, balanced with its morning report; the —th Infantry constantly lost track of its officers; the —th Infantry frequently forwarded, on its own responsibility, inaccurate returns to Washington, thus causing considerable difficulty in the proper rendition of the divisional return. These and other examples which might be mentioned serve to illustrate the inefficiency and lack of co-operation on the part of the officers of the several units, in the matter of these reports and returns, so essential at Washington. Many of the officers depended upon their Sergeant Majors to do the work, in which case it was usually done on time and done well, as, for example, the returns of the 14th Sanitary Train and 40th Infantry.

The personnel of the non-commissioned officers in the various units and in the Divisional Headquarters Detachment and Troop was usually of a high standard. From a study, however, of their personnel cards and of the qualification records of the officers of Division Headquarters, one could not but help thinking that there were many misfits. A former principal of Battle Creek High School did "his bit" washing dishes and checking stock in the company supply room; an expert mining engineer furnished much of the brains for the Divisional Personnel Office; an electric engineer, a graduate of Michigan Agricultural College, wiled away long hours sorting and filing "locator cards." All in all, there seemed to be, in the case of the men of the Headquarters Detachment, a decided waste of good material on the part of the Government Personnel system. Many of these men sought further advancement; few ever won their release, probably because of their value.

The caliber of these men and their inherent ability to work and produce results was splendidly revealed during the terrible influenza epidemic that hung over Custer for two months—demanding, ere it left, the heavy toll of over 600 lives. While much credit is due the medical corps for their untiring efforts in checking the spread of the disease, still the work of the Field Clerks and Sergeants, who toiled day and night so as to issue on time proper travel orders, death notices, returns to the Adjutant General's office at Washington and Lansing, and the like, is also worthy of much consideration.

It was during this period of influenza, when Custer was under the ban of a quarantine, that I witnessed a curious infringement of the quarantine provisions. These regulations, as might be expected, were numerous and lengthy, all having as their objective the prevention and limitation of the disease by non-contact with civilians. Even within the camp, no one was supposed to stray, save upon permission by pass, beyond his own particular zone. Exceptions, of course, were provided for, it being expedient and

necessary for certain individuals, under warranted circumstances, to go to Battle Creek or elsewhere. However, the indiscriminate manner in which officers were permitted to visit Battle Creek, for no official reason, as far as could be ascertained; the similar privilege enjoyed by the field clerks with whom I was constantly in association in work, at mess and in the barracks; stirred up in the minds of many the thought that, through some unknown or mysterious fashion, officers and field clerks could not carry germs, but that all others could. In this relation one is reminded of an instance of a member of the Quartermaster Corps who earnestly sought permission to be allowed to visit Grand Rapids, where his brother lay dying. The request was refused, even though proper verifications of the circumstances proved the truth of his statements. However, on that same night a certain field clerk went to Battle Creek in search of amusement and entertainment.

It is gratifying to know that instances of this nature were few and far between, and that upon certification by the local Red Cross any individual free of disease might visit near relatives in case of extreme illness or death. Had not such a method been adopted, many a soldier would have faked a story so as to obtain relief from the deadening effect that the constant illness and death had on all in Custer. As it was, the number of A. W. O. L.'s (absences without leave) increased considerably, especially after the quarantine had been lifted. Another instance, pregnant possibly with political meaning, was the telegraphic instructions received from Washington the day before the Newberry-Ford election, permitting all, within the radius of twenty-four hours, to break quarantine and go home to vote. The number that availed themselves of this opportunity was exceedingly large, all of whom, however, came once more, at the close of the twenty-four hours, under the quarantine regulations.

A week later came the long-wished-for armistice. On the day of the false report, practically every one in camp had assembled for the purpose of having a group picture taken. The enthusiasm displayed by the men so gathered was tremendous. Cheer after cheer arose, hats and blouses were thrown high in the air, while an edition of a Battle Creek paper sold, at ten cents each, like hot-cakes. The untruthfulness of this news failed to dampen the enthusiasm of the men, who believed that in a few days the final and true armistice would occur—as it did.

Immediately after November 11, 1918, there ensued a headlong rush for discharge on the part of the men and officers. Interest in service immediately fell below par. The once boisterous and whole-spirited singing at the Liberty Theatre of "Over There," "Tipperary," "Good Morning, Mr. Zip" and the "Democratic Army" now subsided to a marked degree. It was then that the character of the reports from the divisional units revealed to many inaccuracies; it was then that the morale of the camp slumped; it was then that the A. W. O. L. list grew by leaps

and bounds. Further observances were suddenly and fortunately interdicted by reason of my having received, early in January, 1919, an honorable discharge.

In conclusion, the following facts might be noted: First, the prevalence of a strong and effective power exercised by the professional military in the interests of his privilege and class. Second, the almost universal distaste, distrust and hate by the men in service

for this military class. Third, the plea that was voiced time after time among my friends in camp, that the public consider itself bound and dutied to the task of thoroughly and thoughtfully investigating the military system of this country, and then of demanding that proper provision be made so as to obtain justice to the citizen who willingly or otherwise places himself under the military service of the United States. Your son, my son, may be that citizen.

An Experiment in the Use of Pageantry and Ritual as Motivating Forces in Education

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In any attempt to study ritual or pageantry, it is exceedingly difficult to separate the two. We find frequently, more especially in early manifestations, that the two were combined to serve the same purpose. For instance, in the Aztec religious ceremonies attending the sacrifices to Huitzilapochtli and Quetzalcoatl, a procession of priests, state officials, youths and maidens garbed in bright costumes and adorned with flowers, followed by the general populace, wound in processional pageant about the sacrificial teocalis, and at the altar on top a ritualistic sacrifice was performed. Of a similar nature were the Greek processions up the Arcopolis led by priests, Vestal Virgins, youths and maidens, etc.

In medieval times, it is again difficult to separate the miracle play into its constituent elements, and describe one portion as pageantry and the other as a form of ritual. The same may be said of such a ceremony as the coronation of the King of England. In fact, most rituals depend upon pageantry for much of their effectiveness, and many pageants include some ritualistic elements.

Ritualism, or the following of a prescribed form in the performance of some sacred or significant ceremony, is found in the most primitive people of modern times, and can be traced in the folkways of the earliest of earth's inhabitants whose tribal life modern science has been able to integrate. The East Indian fakir breaking the clay figure of his enemy, the aboriginal American "medicine man" making spells to confound the evil spirits of disease, or the South Sea Islander walking his red hot stones are examples of the strength of ritualism in modern primitive life.

Behavior which in individuals has redounded to the advantage of the tribe has become encased as ritual in the folkways of the tribe, and in time acquires religious significance. Manifestations of natural law which have inspired awe and fear in primitive minds, have been propitiated in many ways, which in each tribe have grown to large proportions as ritual. Superstitious fear of the unknown—as death and its sequel—has resulted in the development of a complicated ritual under all circumstances, not excepting modern man. The Chinaman who places roast pig

and rice on the tomb of his ancestors, the ancient Egyptian who extracted brain and intestines and mummified his dead, the Mexican aborigine who laid his dead away in sterile caves, and the high-caste Brahmin widow who is immolated on the funeral pyre of her husband are responding to the same impulse as modern Catholic Americans celebrating High Mass over the body of the departed.

Again, where the advantage of the tribe is served, as in the acquisition of warriors, or the maturation of the youth to citizenship, a ritualistic ceremony of a civic nature has often been developed. The tribe as a group-unit with due solemnity unfolds its secrets to the initiate, and in return demands the oath of loyalty to death.

In each instance, whether the ritual be of a religious or civic nature, the life or death of the individual has been indelibly associated with the group advantage. He may be promised life everlasting, but in return he gives eternal service; he may have been admitted to honor and responsibility, but in return vows loyalty through life to the sacrifice of his individuality. These contrasting elements receive dramatic emphasis in both line and action of the ritual. Violation of ceremonial vows is viewed in the folkways as deserving of nothing less than ostracism or death. The ceremonies are usually brutally simple, emphasizing those essentials of tribal life which the fight for survival has impressed upon the folkways. They answer the demand of the individual for a "raison d'être" of life; tie him to his fellows, and throughout the history of man, the individuals are few and far between who are not easily enslaved by ritualism.

Closely entwined with the ritual of the folkways are those stories of tribal origin and explanations of natural phenomena which we classify as myths: a story fabric of supernatural justifications of tribal behavior, passing from mouth to mouth as background for the ritual of the lores. Myths are found as part of the inheritance of every primitive tribe, closely paralleling each other in essential explanations, and justifying in many instances identical or strangely similar ceremonial rites. Each rite possesses its

myth, or explanatory story, and gains much of its strength thereby. Frequently the pageantry of the ritual is a dramatization of the mythological story, leading to a ritual of impersonations.

Citizenship in many of the Greek states was of deep significance, and the ritual accompanying the youths' initiation in Athens, Sparta and other Greek communities was a test of intelligence and skill of the highest degree, and a pledge of tribal fealty. About many of these rituals was woven a text of significance and beauty, emphasizing both personal honor and civic righteousness. Participation in such a ceremony could not but awaken the highest ideals of behavior and service while the character of the initiation was maintained.

In medieval times the ritualistic ceremony appears in the church, the feudal state and later in the craft guild. The entire religious activity of the time centered about the ritual service of the church, where the actual spoken word was not in the vernacular, and the force of the ceremony lay in the mystery, solemnity and dramatic pageantry of the services. The knightly vows of King Arthur's Round Table are an idealized example of the feudal ceremonies, where the boy won his spurs through service as page and squire, to the attainment of knighthood. The craft guild dignified and idealized labor as an art, and lent importance to the journeyman, who with ritualistic ceremony had climbed by merit from apprenticeship.

Despite the fact that much of the progress of thinking in the world has been won through disregard of ritualistic folkways, as Hart points out in "Democracy in Education," time has not served to dim its force in the mind of man. This is amply proved by the multifold fraternalistic organization of modern times, from the Mason down to the outlawed high school "frat." Much of the ritualistic hold which the Protestant Churches have lost upon their public has been replaced by semi-religious fraternal organizations which in many instances have evolved elaborate and significant ceremonies. Their striving after solemnity often reaches the borders of the ridiculous, and yet fills a need in the mind of man.

This craving of the human soul for significance and solemnity is unending. What has been briefly sketched in the history of ten thousand years seems innate. It has often aided in the expression of the highest ideals of the tribe or race. Effort, unending and supreme, has been brought to the altar of ritual for the recognition accorded. Unmeasured loyalty and devotion have been gladly tendered tribal or lodge brothers. Without exception, the mysterious significance of ritual, into which each man could read his own interpretation of the Almighty and immortality, has exerted a greater motivating force upon the race than anything save sex and hunger.

Along somewhat similar lines one may trace the importance of pageantry. The Apache war dance, the Aztec sacrifice, the gory progress of the Juggernaut of Vishnu, and the flower festival of Japan are

all, aside from ritualistic significance, riotous and colorful appeals to the senses; all-inclusive as regards community participation, and highly dramatic in progress to a climax. The Greek Bacchanalia, the processions of the Acropolis, the Roman Triumph and the Festivals of Venus in the same manner illustrate typical instances of pageantry in the Greco-Roman World.

Colorful, dramatic, allegorical—the pageant has existed throughout the history of man, bringing together the peoples of communities in processional, dance and song with dramatic interludes. Medieval times yield such illustrations as the miracle plays and the folk-festivals, such as May-day and Yuletide, the religious pilgrimages which in many instances partook of the elements of pageantry, the Mardi Gras carnivals of Shrove Tuesday, the tournaments of knighthood and the inaugurals of religious potentates and the coronations of royalty. Pageantry, as distinguished from drama, has meant the participation of large masses of people in festal attire, in general accord with a preconceived plan or allegory. It has frequently included clowning or farce as well as serious intent, which distinguishes it most forcefully from ritual.

In the semi-modern periods we may include such widely divergent illustrations as the Passion Play at Oberammergau, the Durbar of King Edward and the New Orleans Mardi Gras. Each of these, and many similar performances, possess all the elements of pageantry, though differing widely one from the other. During the last few decades, especially throughout the English-speaking world, there has occurred a great revival of pageantry and community drama.

The Pageant and Masque of St. Louis (pageant by Thos. W. Stevens and masque by Percy W. MacKaye) which was presented by the citizens of the city of St. Louis in 1909 as a civic co-operative undertaking, marks perhaps the most significant of the community ventures of the past decade. Thousands of citizens from all strata of the community co-operated for months in the preparation of the production, and the leaders felt that more civic growth flowed from this type of community work than from any other which the city has undertaken. So successful, in fact, was the pageant from every standpoint that it was followed throughout this country by many others—notably the Newark Pageant and the New York production of MacKaye's "Caliban by the Yellow Sands." During this same period pageants like the Shakespeare Festival at Stratford-on-Avon in England, the Philadelphia Historical Pageant of 1912; the Mission Play at San Gabriel, California; the Portola Festival in San Francisco, and many others of similar or widely varying types have made their appearance.

With the abolition of the "insane" Fourth has grown the movement to make significant the nation's natal day with some form of allegorical pageant. This, of course, has led to the organization, in schools and out, of pageant celebrations of other national holidays, such as the landing of Columbus for October

12, and typical historic or allegorical scenes for Lincoln's and Washington's birthdays, etc.

Sometimes the schools have risen to the new opportunity in a truly remarkable manner. One such instance, where the pageant idea was used as a basis for much of the school activity for an entire term, occurred in Los Angeles, during 1915, when that city undertook several weeks of "Exposition Year Celebration." The schools planned to take an active part in this celebration and prepared two remarkable street parades and one outdoor "Pageant of World Development." "Westward the Star of Empire" was the theme of the pageant, and, beginning with the nations of the East, and traveling westward with the dawn of nations to California, several thousand children of all grades, from the first through the high school, participated in an inspiring and picturesque riot of color and activity. The significant thing about it is that the preparation of the event was an education in itself. Every costume design, every costume, all properties and equipment and the general theme of the performance itself was the product of classroom work of the Los Angeles schools and represented a vital socialization of the school work.

It now becomes necessary to point out the significance of the foregoing to education in general. A glance at modern school "socializers" shows various activities centering about the central theme "connect the schools with life." We find them sending the children out into our cities to assume adult responsibilities, to hold mock courts, pass mock laws, discuss the tariff, and worry about many civic responsibilities of which most adults are ignorant. We find others propounding problems of geographic trade fluctuations, and playing with census returns in the hundreds of thousands to tie arithmetic to life. Others like Wirt of Gary attempt to "create a child world within the adult world," seeing clearly that the motivated school must make its demands of significance to the child in the life which he is living "now," and not a preparation purely for a life which he ought to be living ten or twenty years from now. The eternal difficulty, of course, lies in the fact that most of the material of the curriculum consists of knowledge of value to maturity, and of practically no value in the play life of the child.

The problem would then seem to be to find those impulses in the play life of the child which will yield themselves to adaptation to many of the problems of the schools. Some of those impulses would seem to be curiosity, imitation and emulation—which experience would tend to prove are latent in every child. Appropriate use of pageantry and ritual, both of which are largely dependent upon these elements, may serve to accomplish the desired adaptation, for they are two of the oldest expressions of race consciousness that we know of.

Dr. Frederic Burk, of the San Francisco Normal School, is inclined to classify the material of the elementary course somewhat as follows:

Tool Subjects—Reading, Writing, Numbers, Spelling, Language Elements.

Arts—Music, Drawing.

Constructive Work—Sewing, Cooking, Manual Work.

Abstractions—Arithmetic, Grammar, Advanced Science.

Emotional Subjects—Literature, Geography, History, Science.

The material classified under "tool subjects" is designated as common core, or subject matter, essential to every one, and a necessary preliminary to work in most of the other lines. The arts appear in the light of the best investigation to be "natural gifts," and impossible of development in those not naturally gifted. They therefore should not be required equally of all. Certain constructive work requires the development of manual dexterity and muscular co-ordination and has therefore advantage for all. Here also, the ultimate development of the individual's skill cannot be a matter of group determination. The abstractions are beyond the comprehension of many, and the schools should be prepared to offer alternative material to those "born short" along those lines, rather than force them out of school at about the fifth grade. The emotional subjects are those which depend for their successful acquisition on the ability of the individual to accumulate the "blue haze" of interpretative impression. Their value lies not in piling up facts, for facts without the "blue haze" are bare—while the "blue haze" based on a few facts supplies all the needs of the average intelligent man.

A survey of educational literature of the last few years, dealing with the teaching of history, geography and science, all tends to substantiate the classification of these as emotional subjects—that is, subjects in which a dramatic emotional experience must accompany bare facts in order to establish understanding. In order to supply this experience, the problem-project method has been evolved; the socialized recitation; humanized education; motivated work; or whatever this form of stimulus may be called.

It is, of course, the same thing that Froebel sought and thought he had found in his didactic materials; that Montessori believes she is finding in her materials. Each scheme is based upon beliefs, or experiments. There is some merit to them all, they are all following a similar path and out of it all a residue of workable truth will remain to the schools.

In the same manner, the scheme which will be here presented, was evolved at the San Francisco Normal School, and a portion of it put into practice during the fall of 1918. The aim was to make use of the dramatic value of history, science and geography through pageantry and plays and to make use of ritual in presenting the civic significance of citizenship. In order to tie it all together into an operating whole, we decided to utilize a method of progressive organization, similar to the Boy Scouts, as making the best appeal to the impulse of emulation. This framework enabled us to "tie-in" physical training, drawing, sewing, manual work and music. Literature acted as handmaiden to the whole adventure,

and composition served to chronicle its progress. This left only arithmetic and grammar out of the scheme, and as a result of the experiment there would seem to be a place for arithmetic—but as for formal grammar! The less said the better.

Before going into greater detail, it might be interesting to summarize briefly the circumstances and ideals of the institution in which this work was attempted. Under the Presidency of Dr. Frederic Burk, the San Francisco Normal School has been known for many years because of its development and advocacy of an "individual system" of classroom instruction. Without taking the time to enter into a discussion of the merits of the individual system, suffice it to say that the school is successfully operating under that plan, and that the organization of the material here presented presupposes to a large degree such individual work.

For some years the school has substituted for the ordinary trite ceremony of graduation in the normal department, a ritual service exemplifying the teacher's professional ideals. This gave rise to the idea that it might be possible to develop a pageant ceremonial or symbolic performance signaling the growth of American democracy, to take the place of the ordinary program in celebration of the various national holidays.

Faculty conferences on the subject resulted in the study of pageantry and ritual with which this paper is introduced, with the result that a determination to create such a patriotic pageant was reached. Consequently in January, 1918, work was begun upon a pageant for the Lincoln-Washington Birthday celebration. Much material was gathered, and drawing inspiration from MacKaye's "Masque of St. Louis" a first attempt was made. The event was too completely disassociated from the remainder of the work of the school to bear much fruit, and was somewhat too symbolic for juvenile consumption.

One learns from failures, and the lessons of this experience, together with some adventures as Scoutmaster of a troop of boys connected with the school, contributed to a new point of view, and as the spring term passed, the writer, together with other members of the faculty, evolved a new and somewhat different scheme.

Taking history as a backbone, we saw developing a series of organizations typifying each historical epoch, with opportunities for natural activities in practically every subject of the curriculum. Roughly, American history for our purposes divided itself into four periods, as follows:

1—Discovery to Revolution. 2—Revolution to Civil War. 3—Civil War until 1900. 4—1900 until present.

Each of these period units became an "Order," and within the order another graded subdivision into ranks was possible. We sought titles which should be significant and yet carry with them certain imaginative qualities. Thus the four orders became: 1—The World Adventurers. 2—The Civic Pioneers. 3—The Treasure Seekers. 4—The Champions of

Democracy, each taking a name expressive of the development of the period. The World Adventurers are such because they are the brave souls who went forth across the "Sea of Darkness" upon a great adventure—to discover and give to humanity a new world. This name was taken from that of the immigrant group in Percy MacKaye's "Masque of Saint Louis." The Civic Pioneers are those who upon this new continent forged a new nation and builded a constitutional government out of thirteen struggling colonies. The Treasure Seekers are those who, going north, east and west, founded the great agricultural, industrial and scientific empire of America. The Champions of Democracy are those who have loved their freedom enough to shed their blood in order that the oppressed races of the earth might gain freedom also.

Within each of these Orders another graded subdivision can be made:

Order of World Adventurers:

1—Viking Rank—The lowest rank, which covered the period of discovery by the Norsemen about the year 1000.

2—Columbian Rank—The second rank, which covered the period of Spanish, French and English discovery and exploration.

3—Franklin Rank—The highest rank of the World Adventurers, dealing with the Colonial period up to the war of Independence.

Order of Civic Pioneers:

1—Washingtonian Rank—The first rank, dealing with the establishment of Independence.

2—Jeffersonian Rank—The second rank, dealing with the establishment of Constitutional government, and the expansion westward.

3—Lincolonian Rank—The highest rank, covering the period which gave political independence and equality to all in America.

And so on through the later groups. Throughout the development, each rank possesses a ritual and scheme woven about a significant ideal or slogan, typifying the idealized character—as Columbus with his persevering "On! Sail On!"

Each Columbian must experience the historical events which led to the discovery of America, in dramatic form—and may play the part of Columbus even. He must know the portions of the earth where this event is taking place; must be acquainted with the physical conditions with which he will come in contact, such as winds, tides, rain, etc.; know of the mariner's compass; be acquainted with certain of the stars; be able to swim and row; know how to take care of his own health; know some of the birds and animals which Columbus met with in the new world; be able to rig a sail; make the necessary costume to play the part; perform some piece of work indicating his ability to live up to the Columbian maxim, "On! Sail On!" and last, but not least, make a written report as did Columbus, telling of his discoveries and adventures. When these things are done, he is ready to demonstrate his accomplishments at a significant initiation ceremony, with impressive and idealistic

ritual. He may also, at the appropriate time, take part in the Columbus Day pageant. But this is somewhat anticipating the story, which was to be an account of how all this was developed.

With this rough skeleton of an idea, we had to fill out and make real all the possibilities which presented themselves. First, following the Scout idea, an appropriate symbol had to be designed for each rank, and each order. We at first hoped to pick out symbols for the ranks which would combine appropriately to form the badge of the Order. In this we were not very successful. For the Vikings we decided upon a red spearhead upon a white ground, bearing the word "Viking." Our color scheme was influenced by a desire to develop the combination red, white and blue by the end of the "World Adventurer" Order. Red, therefore, became the dominant Viking color, blue the dominant Columbian color, and white the dominant Franklin color. The day the Viking badge came back from the printer we discovered what we had been hunting for—a Viking flag, which we found bore the red raven. As we couldn't afford to have the badges made over, we let it go as a spearhead. For the Columbians, the drawing department designed a Spanish caravel, with an immense sail bearing the cross and letter "C," with the slogan "On! Sail On!" For the Franklins a five-pointed white star with blue border and red background, bearing the word "Franklin" was designed. Several designs were made for the "World Adventurer" pin, but the experiment came to a halt before the pin was needed, and nothing was decided upon.

We felt that a few insignia of prowess were desirable, and for the Vikings established a skill and strength emblem for those making a certain score in the physical and hygienic work. This was to be a grey armband, bearing Thor's hammer, and the forked lightning. As an emblem of knowledge, the Winged Cap of Wotan was designed, and awarded for superior work.

The original scheme, which evolved from the general discussions as formulated by Dr. Burk, provided for a parallel organization among the Normal students preparatory to their work as "guides" in the pageant groups. The idea possessed a great deal of value, but at the time we lacked the faculty organization to realize it, and this lack more than anything else prevented further realization of the whole scheme.

The historic material was all presented in story or dramatic form. Each group of children met with the guide in charge of this type of work every other day. The guide began by telling a general story of a small unit of the work. Reading was suggested and the names of all the story books or historical references in the school or public library covering the material, were given out. Portions of this story as suggested by the guide (working from a prepared outline—see later sections) were retold by the children, with elaborations secured from their own reading. These scenes were then acted out impromptu. In this manner all of the elements of the story were brought out. Certain portions of especial dramatic

value or interest were prepared with dialogue, and the children given an opportunity to memorize this dialogue and work it out on the auditorium stage for the benefit of other groups. Good impromptu work was shown in the same way. For much of the scene work, songs with original music were prepared, and worked directly into the action.

In every possible way, an effort was made to have the children *live* the stories, and make them a part of themselves. We went after "emotional" impressions, and succeeded in getting them.

In geography we attempted to make the work as real as possible by actual map construction in the clay modeling room. We held the children's interest, and they fully enjoyed the work and secured the desired knowledge, but I would say that the geography work functioned the least effectively.

In the science laboratory actual experiments in making mist, lightning, fog, rainbow, etc., were performed, and material was supplied to find out the whys and wherefores, with the guides there to talk over experiments and help out with questions and answers. Here, as elsewhere, we made it a rule never to allow a question to go unanswered so long as there was a means of finding an answer. Both the general science and physical geography were very successful in themselves, and as the laboratory was full of "set-ups" of other experimental material, a great deal of extra work was done in the heat of the interest aroused. The children were encouraged to investigate everything that interested them, and follow it as far as they liked, and practically all of them took advantage of the opportunity. Several of the guides were exceptionally qualified in astronomical information and interest, and that work was very successful.

The idea of what was expected in life science and biology was never very clear in the minds of any of us. Most of what was outlined and followed by the children was nature study, involving plant and bird life. They were much interested in the exhibits of the California Academy of Sciences, where some remarkably fascinating and lifelike animal and bird life groups are displayed. Several of the groups had the good fortune to meet the curator and learn something of bird stuffing, etc. On several occasions the groups took their lunches with them to the park, and ate them under the trees, observing the birds and squirrels, and identifying plant families. It seemed at the time, and still seems, that a larger field might be developed along this line by some one familiar enough with the possible material to organize the work.

In spite of several handicaps, the physical education work was tremendously successful. Hours were spent by the children in spear throwing, in addition to any time set aside for that activity. It was never possible to accommodate all those who wished to go swimming, and of some sixty non-swimmers out of the group of ninety, fully 75% were able to keep afloat and propel themselves when the pools were closed for the winter. Most of this group actually

learned to swim. All who were swimmers when we started, either mastered other strokes, or learned to dive. Aside from this record of accomplishment for the children, we found when we counted noses that at least 30% of the guides had been taught to swim, also. So successful were we in arousing enthusiasm, and so rapidly did they learn under the stimulus of the activity in which we were engaged, that their example was emulated by many of the Normal students, and swimming parties became quite the fashion. All told, the work of that fall succeeded in teaching about a hundred people to swim who had never known how previously.

The "health scores" brought surprising results. Here each candidate received a card on one side of which was recorded the result of the strength tests, and on the reverse were scored "health habits." Points could be made on clean skin, clean underwear, good breathing habits, clean teeth, good eating habits, good sleeping habits, etc. A supervisor in charge interviewed each child individually, and upon the basis of physical evidence and results of discussion, rated each child on each point. This discussion always resulted in questions as to what constituted a full score—how it was to be obtained—the importance of breathing—why cleaning teeth was important—frequency of bathing—change of underwear, etc. Physiologies, hygiene texts and anatomies were in constant demand. In practically all cases, revisits and further discussion resulted. Several long-standing problem cases from the standpoint of personal cleanliness, responded almost immediately. More hygiene was taught—and by taught, I mean put into the life practice of the child—by these short interviews, than is ordinarily accomplished in a term or more of formal work.

In the original plan, much was hoped for from the constructive branches, and although in the term of actual practice almost nothing was done for several reasons not worth entering into, the possibilities are still alluring. The school was at that time equipped with a sewing room and a cooking laboratory, and plans were under way for the installation of a manual-training room with opportunities for wood and metal work. As the original plan called for costumed productions, the most logical and stimulating thing to do was to let each little girl make her own costume. We also hoped to be able to go a little further and begin in the art department by allowing her to design it first. Certain properties in the line of shields, spears, helmets, etc., were called for, and we hoped that the boys could make these in the manual-training shop. We also counted upon the shop for much help in making stage settings, etc. There is absolutely no doubt but that this could have been successfully carried out, for when it was announced that this phase of the work was temporarily omitted, many of the children suggested that they make their own equipment at home. We hoped that when we got to the Colonial period with the Franklins, cooking would also naturally take its place. Several of the children suggested the appropriateness of requiring successful garden grow-

ing from this rank, which would have fallen in line with this activity of the school.

A suggestion in regard to the possibilities of Honors in Music and Song resulted in several poems being written, two of which possessed distinct merit, and two of the children undertook to compose accompaniments to them, under direction. This resulted in much interesting work, and the term following, about ten children enrolled in a special music class to learn how to write music, and carry on other special work in music.

To add a spice of mystery to the activities, the children were required to secure a treasure map at the completion of their work, and from mysterious directions and diagrams upon it, "discover" the location of the Viking pin. The pin was buried in a large vacant lot across the street from the school. This property was in two levels, separated by a steep cliff. On the upper level were the foundation remains of an old reservoir, all of which offered a splendid opportunity for such an investigation.

The final phase of the work was what has been termed in the handbook the "Viking Civic Experience," and phrased in very general terms. In spite of this fact, it involved some very serious plans, part of which were carried into effect. Because the whole undertaking grew out of an attempt to teach patriotism and civics, it was planned to make the work in every way as democratic as possible in operation. Owing to the fact that the whole experiment lasted but six months, and that during this time most of the administrative responsibility consisted in getting things moving with some degree of consistency, the civic plans were not effectively realized. The plan was to make each of the units of the group as largely self-determinate as possible, and treat each group as a co-operative unit equally interested and entitled to share with the administrative officers of the school the planning and execution of matters of policy. This is not to be mistaken for a "self-government" scheme such as is ordinarily created, with student officials elected by the group to administer the rules of the faculty. It was an attempt to involve each individual in responsibility for his individual and group action. All matters of administrative routine were submitted to the groups for discussion, with the understanding that their preferences would be given due consideration in the final determination of all matters. The aim was to make each individual an interested and responsible citizen of the school state. As far as used, the plan was so successful that since then the entire grammar grades have been worked onto the same basis, with results which may be presented elsewhere.

Administratively, this experiment involved 90 out of about 720 children in the school, or approximately all H5 and L6 grade pupils. The school day for these pupils began at 9 o'clock and closed at 2.30, divided into three periods of approximately equal length, with a recess of thirty minutes, and a lunch period of fifty minutes between. The regular school work was pursued for the first two sections, and the

pageant work occupied the afternoon period. On days when the groups went swimming, or to the museums, they took their lunch with them, and left the building at the close of the second session.

The pageant session was divided into two portions, first a twenty-five minute period, and then a fifty minute period. The short period was used for civic discussions, music and auditorium periods, health interviews, strength tests and astronomy discussions. The later period was used for the historic-dramatic work, the geography work, science, laboratory work, playground for spear-throwing, etc., and the library. The initiation ceremony, Columbus Day pageant and auditorium demonstrations frequently occupied both periods.

Each individual kept track of his own advancement record, and was supplied with a "Viking Experience Record" card, on which were listed the tests requisite to Viking standing. Space was provided after each item for the date, and the initials of the guide who witnessed the demonstration of efficient work. When the card was completely filled, it was presented to the administrative officer with a notice that the candidate was ready for initiation, and desirous of a Columbian Record card. Each guide also kept record of all cards signed.

As the children were working individually, the initiations were held when groups of fifteen or so were prepared. All of the candidates participated in the ceremony, but only those whose work was satisfactory complete took the vows. These ceremonies were open to the normal students and other children of the school. The scene opened before the altar of the temple, the dim blue light revealing the Priests of Thor and Wotan, chanting. The novitiates were seated in small groups in different portions of the audience. At the close of the priests' chant, they arose, and to the solemn strains of the novitiates' march, moved toward the stage, with their arms raised above their heads. Arrived before the Altar, their song changed to the Viking Chant, and kneeling, they petition for admission to the Order. At the close, the Priests pass through the fog-curtain at the rear, which then opens revealing the Gods upon their thrones in Golden Asgard. The remainder of the ceremony is explained in the pages of the handbook. Suffice it to say that it proved to be extremely effective.

The Columbus Pageant, which was the essential element of the Columbian rank, turned out to be the closing episode of the experiment, for the following day the schools were closed because of the influenza.

In planning out the pageant, we visualized it in four scenes. 1—The Convent at La Ribida. 2—The Court of Ferdinand and Ysabella. 3—On Shipboard, the Night Before Land was Sighted. 4—The Landing at San Salvador. In our production, the second scene was omitted. The three acts which were presented demonstrated that we had found a successful medium from the dramatic and historic standpoints, for there seemed no doubt that the theme "got over" with the children.

The scene at La Ribida was between Columbus and Prior Juan, introducing the medieval ideas which hampered Columbus and the superstitions against which he was striving. The theme of the scene was the spirit of determination which drove Columbus forward to success against all odds.

Act two (three of the above) took as its inspiration Joaquin Miller's poem "Columbus." The various fabled sirens and monsters of the unknown ocean appeared, endeavoring to dissuade Columbus and preying upon the fears of himself and his crew. The climax of discouragement is reached in the historic mutiny of the crew, and the scene closes with the discovery of "a light, a light!" and from behind the scenes swell in triumphant chorus the closing lines of the Miller poem.

The closing act was set on the island of San Salvador. Opening with a group of Indians, from whom is learned the myth which caused the white men to be received as Gods, the caravels of Columbus are discovered, and he and his men enter to plant the royal standard of Spain, and claim the land in the name of God and their imperial majesties, Ferdinand and Ysabella. The act closes with a prophetic passage, anticipating the development of the new world.

So much for the general plan and details of execution. Further experimentation was prevented by the epidemic, and the inroads which the war made upon the normal school attendance, precluded the possibility of extra-curriculum activities.

As for the results. The greatest enthusiasm imaginable possessed nearly all of the children involved. Its beneficial effect was evidenced in the work of the regular subjects, as well as in the pageant material. The school library gave evidence of the accomplishments in markedly increased use of all material bearing upon the historic and scientific phases of the work. The rituals were impressive and proved a powerful motivating force. The Scout method of organization, as adapted, proved effective and achieved better results than I have secured with the actual Scout program in a troop of boys over a period of two years. The dramatic method of presenting the historic material proved more successful than any we have yet attempted, and on a test over six months later revealed that it achieved permanent results. The pageant proved to be a remarkably successful dramatic vehicle, and effectively conveyed its message of perseverance and determination.

The entire activity might be expressed in the word of Wirt of Gary, as "the creation of a child world, within the adult world," where many of the requisites of the ordinary curriculum found justification in a play world which was a very real place. The physical geography taught to this group during the experiment, was material which has proved difficult in the eighth grade under ordinary circumstances, and the fact that it was successfully taught has been proved by some of the Vikings who have reached it in the ordinary course of events—only to find it an old story.

The freedom and enthusiasm of the work permeated most of the school, and since the conclusion of our experiment, most of the grammar grade courses of study have gone into revision along lines exemplified by the pageant results. Although the pageant, with its organization and most of its color and emphasis of child life has passed on, the spirit animating the work and those engaged in its production has colored much of the school work which has been done since.

From the results of our experiment, I am convinced of the effectiveness of pageantry and ritual as motivating forces in education. Recognizing the fact that the work which we attempted requires exceptional administrative guidance and unusual teachers, I cannot help feeling that there is, in the plan upon which we worked, and in the results which we achieved, a message of new possibilities in educational organization.

The Spirit of Progress

BY RUTH FLESHER

Editor THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK:

I am enclosing a copy of a miniature pageant written by a pupil in one of my American history classes last spring. As originally written it was staged by another American history student who selected the characters from the entire history department. I asked about twenty-five of the pupils, who were in the same English class taught by Miss Lilian Becker, to write a playlet that would show what history teaches us of our debt to the past.

DEBORAH DAVIS,

Instructor in American History in the
Boise High School.

The curtain rises with the Spirit of Progress seated on a high white throne. She is dressed in a white flowing robe with a crown upon her head. A page enters from the left, dressed in the costume of a courtier.

PAGE (*bowing to Progress*): O Spirit of Progress, the Primitive Man awaits to present his gifts to civilization.

PROGRESS: I shall await his arrival.

(Exit Page at Left.)

Enter Primitive Man dressed in rough skins, bearing in one hand a bundle of wheat and in the other a crude model of clay. Progress rises as the Primitive Man advances.

PRIMITIVE MAN (*bows to Progress*): I am the Primitive Man who comes to lay his contributions at the feet of Progress.

PROGRESS: What have you, O Primitive Man?

PRIMITIVE MAN: I would like to have simply roamed through the forests, earning my living as I could, but some spirit within me compelled me to plant seeds in the earth to see if they would bear any returns, to capture animals and tame them to make them of use to me, and to use the resources offered by nature in moulding clay and making implements. This (he lays the bundle of wheat at the feet of Progress) which represents the domesticated plant, I contribute. Also, I give this pottery (he lays the crude dish at the feet of Progress).

PROGRESS: I thank you. What you have done through work and toil when, as you say, you could have roamed the forests, the world will never forget and will never cease to thank you.

(Primitive Man bows and Exits at Right. Progress seats herself on the throne.)

Enter Page at Left.

PAGE (*bowing*): I herald the arrival of the Greeks who are laden with their gifts to you.

PROGRESS: I welcome them.

(Page bows and exits at Left.)

Enter Greek man and woman. Man dressed in the costume of an athlete, the woman dressed in white flowing robes carrying in her hand a small statue. Progress rises.

GREEK MAN (*bowing to Progress*): We come to lay our contributions at the feet of civilization. I, an athlete, give beauty of body and physical development. It was through the development of the sports, particularly the Olympic Games, that this physical training was accomplished. This gift, the gift of physical fitness and perfection, I lay at thy feet, O Spirit of Progress, that the coming generations may profit by our example.

(Athlete bows and moves to Right of stage.)

PROGRESS: I thank you, Greek athlete.

GREEK WOMAN (*advancing and bowing to Progress*): I come to lay the gift of art and sculpture at thy feet, O Spirit of Progress. (Lays the statue at the feet of Progress.) Our race not only admired the beauty of nature, but were moved by an unknown spirit to carve stone, and make our surroundings more beautiful. This contribution of art and beauty I give thee, Spirit of Progress.

PROGRESS: I am certain that the coming generations will thank you and will never forget what you have accomplished and given that they might profit by your work.

(Greek Woman bows and moves to Right. Exit Greek Athlete and Woman at Right. Progress seats herself on throne.)

Enter Page at Left.

PAGE (*bowing*): The Roman is waiting.

PROGRESS: I welcome him most heartily.

(Page bows and exits at Left.)

Enter Roman dressed in Roman toga. He carries in one hand a scroll and in the other a scale.

PROGRESS (*rising*): What carry you, O Roman?

ROMAN (*bowing*): I came from the Roman Age which is characterized by law and justice. These

two gifts (he lays the scroll and the scales at the feet of Progress) I lay at thy feet that the people who follow us may gain law and justice by what we have learned.

PROGRESS: Your contributions are important and necessary to the happiness and welfare of any people. I thank you.

(Roman bows and exits at Right. Progress seats herself on throne.)

Enter Page from Left.

PAGE (*bowing to Progress*): The Medieval Monk is here with his contribution.

PROGRESS: He is indeed most welcome.

(Page bows and exits at Left.)

Enter Monk dressed in a black garb carrying in his hand a cross. Progress rises.

PROGRESS: O Medieval Monk, you are welcome.

MONK (*bowing*): I thank you. I have for you, Spirit of Progress, a most worthy gift. This gift is Christianity. Before this time, stones were worshipped, the Sun and Moon were bowed down to by Pagans, but the religion of an unseen God, after whose image we are made, is far more satisfying to the multitude of people. This gift of Christianity I contribute to go down through the Ages. (Lays the cross at foot of throne.)

PROGRESS: I am most grateful to you, O Monk.

(Monk bows and exits at Left. Progress seats herself.)

Page enters from Left and bows to Progress.

PAGE: The Puritans have come burdened with their gifts.

PROGRESS: The Puritans have my cordial welcome.

(Page bows and Exits at Left.)

Enter Puritans (man and woman) dressed in Colonial costume. The man carries a gun and looks fearless and strong, the woman patient and kind. Progress rises.

PURITAN MAN (*bows to Progress*): We together (indicates with his hand the woman) have conquered the wilderness that our descendants might have a place to dwell in peace and comfort. We have come to God's country, America, that we might have a chance to promote the idea of a free country, a democracy. We have come that we might have freedom of religion. These we contribute, and most prominent among these, the spirit of Democracy.

PROGRESS: That spirit is the most acceptable contribution I have yet received.

(Puritans bow and exit at Left.)

Progress seats herself.

Enter Page at Left.

PAGE (*bowing*): The next contributor is the Idaho Pioneer, who is here with his contribution.

PROGRESS: I welcome him.

(Exit Page, bowing, at Left.)

Enter Idaho Pioneer dressed in a rough working suit. He is old and bent from hard work. He bows to Progress, who rises.

PIONEER: O Progress, I have some gifts to give you. I have come West to Idaho, advancing slowly

and with many hardships. When I finally arrived, I converted a wilderness tract of sagebrush lands into profitable farms and small cities. I have found wealth in the forests and in the seemingly barren hills. These I contribute, the wealth of farming, lumbering and mining.

PROGRESS: I am sure that the people of Idaho appreciate what you have suffered and how much you have toiled for their good.

(Pioneer bows and exits at Left.)

Enter Page from Left.

PROGRESS: Call the contributors that I may again thank them in a body.

(Exit Page at Left.)

Enter Primitive Man, Greek Man and Woman, and Roman, in order from right—and Medieval Monk, Puritans and Idaho Pioneer from Left forming a "V" shape with Progress at the apex.

Enter Page who bows to Progress.

PROGRESS: Summon the heirs of the Ages, the Boise High School Students.

(Exit Page at Left.)

Enter two Boise High School Students—a boy and a girl—from Left. They approach Progress in the center of "V."

PROGRESS: Know you, Boise High School Students, that you are the heirs of the Ages. The Primitive Man (indicating the Primitive Man with her hand) contributes domesticated plants and animals and the beginning of pottery. The Greek Athlete (indicating him) gives you beauty of body and physical fitness; the Greek Woman (indicating her) gives art and sculpturing; the Roman (indicating him) gives law and justice; the Medieval Monk contributes Christianity; the Puritans give you the spirit of democracy; and the Idaho Pioneer developed the resources of your State with a fearless and steady hand. (As Progress indicates each character, each character acknowledges by bowing the head.) These all are given to you, you are the heirs.

B. H. S. BOY: We shall never forget.

B. H. S. GIRL: We shall never cease to thank you.

Both bow heads.

Curtain falls.

COMMUNICATION

COLUMBUS, Nov. 8, 1920.

Editor, THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK:

In the November issue of the OUTLOOK I notice a statement to the effect that a course in Canadian history has been added to the curriculum of Stanford University, in the spring quarter of 1920. The note refers to my article of December, 1919. Since this subject has come up again, may I claim for Ohio State University the distinction of having been the first university to give Canadian history a permanent place in its offerings? I gave a survey course on Canadian history for the first time during our summer session of 1918. I repeated the course the second semester of 1919-1920; the course will be given again in the second semester of this academic year, and beginning with next year the course becomes a full year offering.

Ohio State University.

CARL WITKE.

A Three-Legged Stool

BY PROFESSOR EDGAR DAWSON, HUNTER COLLEGE, NEW YORK CITY

Training for citizenship in the secondary schools seems to have been freed to some extent from the hysteria of post-war excitement. It may soon be possible to gain a hearing for real work. Any effort that is likely to bring results that are worth while in this field of education must rest on three feet. Failing any one of these, the training, or the effort to bring it about, is likely to be so disappointing as to lose support. These three feet are the training of the teacher; his certification; and the opportunity given him to deal with the pupil.

The training of high school teachers who are to teach the social studies has been unorganized and aimless. In so far as such training has been given it has been given in the colleges and the universities; but the elective system has left the inexperienced student in these institutions to drift unguided through his college course, and he has selected studies without a vision of what his work shall be and with no plan to guide his efforts. Some have taken a bite here and a whiff there of unrelated and disconnected study; others have buried themselves in the details of some one subject, specializing so narrowly that they have remained ignorant of the relations, for example, between the science of government, the problems of economics, and the historical evolution of modern life. The colleges and universities have made but little effort really to train those who are to direct the evolution of secondary school pupils. They have been concerned, in so far as they have given serious attention to what are called the social studies, with developing narrow specialists or in providing the bill of fare of an amateur or a dilettante.

In the University of California steps have recently been taken to correct this state of affairs. With a rather remarkable spirit of generous co-operation, members of the departments of education, history, economics, political science, and the social institutions (which last is the nearest approach in that institution to a department of sociology), have forgotten departmental special interests and have undertaken to draw up a minimum course of study which every person who is to be recommended to the educational authorities as a suitable teacher of the social studies in the secondary schools must complete.

Without going into minute details, this course of study may be said to prepare for the program which the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education of the National Educational Association, through its Committee on the Social Studies, has recommended in its report of 1916 (Bulletin 28 for 1916 of the United States Bureau of Education). This program recommends a study of the evolution of western civilization as commonly presented in a course in European history; of the history of the United States; and of the elements of our modern economic, social, and political life as these may be presented in one year of work in a course which may

be called social problems, or problems of democracy. More concisely stated, the course of study would introduce the high school pupil to the general evolution of society; then show him more fully how our republic came to be what it is; and finally lead him to study its present problems as fully as his ability and time make possible.

The teacher who is to administer such a course of study as this must have had some training, not only in history, but also in political and economic thought. Therefore the University of California will ask such prospective teachers to study history (both European and American); political science as presented in a comparative study of the leading liberal governments and in a course in American government, local, state, and national; and economics as offered to him in a survey of the elements of the subject with more advanced study of its theory and evolution. This minimum requirement will represent about 36 units of the college course; it will demand somewhat less than a third of the student's time. He will still be free to elect additional work in history, or in the other subjects; but he will also be required to pursue the study of education to the extent of 15 units, to practice teaching in the university high school under the direction of an experienced teacher, and to pursue one graduate course in some one of the fields mentioned above. The state law in California requires that prospective high school teachers present the bachelor's degree from an accredited university and one year of graduate work; and only institutions of high grade are admitted to the list of those accredited.

But such training as is to be provided in the University of California would be ineffective if the practice continues of granting blanket certificates to the teacher. In most of our states the requirements set up to protect the pupils in the schools are made merely formal by reason of the fact that the teacher is granted a certificate, but is then left free to teach any subject in the curriculum. It is well known that principals in all parts of the country frequently assign teachers to work in history or other social studies who have not prepared themselves to teach these subjects. This is not because the principals do not have as high standards as other members of our educational system; it means simply that we as a community have drifted into bad habits. We shall not correct this particular bad habit until we begin to grant to teachers certificates of preparation to teach definite groups of subjects in which they are prepared and until we deny the right on the part of principals to assign any teacher to any subject in which he has no certificate of preparation.

Here again the state of California is preparing to take a definite forward step. The educational administration there is admirably organized, and its personnel happens to be at present a remarkably able and energetic body of men headed by a state super-

intendent of strong mind and high ideals. Furthermore the members of the school system and the citizens at large have such confidence in the leadership of these officials that their proposals are likely to be put into effect not only by the letter but also with a loyal spirit of co-operation. It is proposed to grant to prospective high school teachers certificates which authorize them to teach certain groups of subjects such as the social studies; mathematics and physics; biological sciences; languages, etc. It will be possible for one who expects to teach in the high schools to prepare himself in two of these groups during the five years in which he is attending the university. If then those who administer the high schools organize their work on the basis of such groups, it will be possible, even in a three-teacher high school, for teachers to handle only the subjects in which they have received thorough preparation. In the case of the very smallest high schools, with less than three teachers—and there are only a scattering few of these in California—it may be necessary to provide for some special arrangement.

But a three-legged stool cannot stand on two feet. Even if the university trains teachers carefully, and if these teachers are limited to work in the fields in which they have been trained; the pupils will not be prepared to think in terms of safe and constructive democracy unless they are required to devote enough time to their pursuit of the social studies to really ground them in fact and principles. A year of "American history and civics" will not do this. It is axiomatic that the schools are provided at public expense because they train for citizenship; but there is a tendency, which has become almost a general practice, in applying the elective system in the high schools, to permit pupils to neglect preparation for citizenship through a reasonably thorough application to the social studies. They are required to study English for three or four years because their lapses

in English speech are apparent to all cultured people; but their false social attitudes and defective political notions are not so apparent. Therefore we neglect their training; we do not require them to ground themselves in the thought which will make them useful leaders or followers in our organized society. Unless much of our talk about training for citizenship is to evaporate without leaving any residuum of solid profit, we must discontinue this practice.

California has not yet required that pupils in the high schools devote at least three years in the high school to preparation for citizenship; but we may depend upon it that the type of men and women who guide the evolution of this stratum of the educational system of that state will take the step as soon as the training of teachers and their certification in this field become effective. The organization of the course of study in the high schools and the requirements for graduation is in the main in the hands of the local school authorities; it is for them to decide what subjects shall be made the core of the curricula; and it will be for them to set up requirements which will insure thorough study of our economic and political institutions with their historical evolution. This they will do as soon as the community recognizes that the social studies are organized for effective work and as soon as teachers are available to supervise the work as it should be supervised.

There is no state where the signs point more clearly to a solid preparation of its rising generations for the kind of civic attitudes which will insure the permanency of our institutions and the gradual evolution of them, along conservative lines, toward better and more democratic conditions. Many of our other states could profit from a study of what is being done in this great commonwealth. Those who are studying our methods of teaching would probably find no more fertile source of stimulus and encouragement.

The Problem of Teaching Recent American History¹

BY PROFESSOR ARTHUR MEIER SCHLESINGER, STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

Teachers of history are familiar with the conventional classification of European history into the ancient, medieval and modern periods. A freshness of perspective may be gained by applying the same terms to the major divisions of American history. Ancient American history was obviously the period of discovery and European colonization, and was itself preceded by a "pre-historic" period of native Indian civilizations, the records of which have come to us in the form of monuments, ornaments and picture-writing. The keynote of ancient American history was the transplantation of an advanced civilization to a primitive and undeveloped world.

The transition to the medieval period came when the English colonies and later the Spanish colonies severed political connections with the Old World by

means of wars for independence. In the case of the United States the Middle Ages were characterized by the dissensions and jealousies of baronies (or states) with the growing power of the overlord (or federal government), and the entire national life was strongly influenced by the plantation system of the South with its feudal lords and black vassals. Medieval American history was brought to a close by two events: the victory of the federal government in the Civil War, which settled once for all the question of sovereignty and destroyed the anachronism of slavery; and the great economic transformation of the nation, which got under way about the same time. A little later I shall say something more about this

¹ A paper read before the Iowa Society of Social Science Teachers at Des Moines, November 4, 1920.

latter occurrence, for in its consequences it was more significant than the war itself, but for the present it is only necessary to point out that the new era ushered in by these events does indeed bring us onto the modern scene, a scene crowded with public issues, party conflicts and economic and social developments which are part and parcel of our public life today.

History text-books in late years have been recognizing the importance of modern American history by giving proportionately greater space than ever before to the period since the close of the Civil War. Progressive teachers have endeavored to keep pace with this tendency by compressing to a minimum the amount of time devoted to the earlier phases of American history, particularly the colonial period, and giving a more adequate consideration to the events and movements of the last fifty years. However important the colonial period may be as revealing the beginnings of American nationality and political institutions, who can deny the wisdom of slighting it in order that the history course may contribute more fully to the pupil's understanding of contemporary American life and its problems? But as many teachers have learned from experience, it is easier to accept this point of view than to carry it into successful practice in the classroom. Recent American history, as the period is treated in the average text-book, appears to be a mass of miscellaneous happenings without central connection. The facts are presented in raw and undigested form and are likely to prove unmanageable for the teacher as well as confusing to the pupil. Unlike the colonial period and the earlier national period, the relationship of events has not been worked out along clear-cut and conventional lines. Thus the problem of recent American history, from a teacher's standpoint, is to discover the co-ordinating principle of the period, that fundamental unity which should illuminate and explain the myriad events and teeming interests of modern times in America. Once this is discovered, a detailed outline of the various occurrences and movements can be constructed readily enough; with this latter task it is not the function of this paper to deal.

The key to the recent period is to be found in the economic revolution which passed through its main stages between 1860 and 1880, but which has not ceased to operate at the present time. It is extremely important to understand this term, for it is only beginning to find its way into our text-books. There had occurred an industrial revolution in England in the latter part of the eighteenth century, the significance of which appeared in the introduction of the factory system into that country and the profoundly changed relations in industry and society that resulted. Under the influence of the embargo and the tariffs of 1816 and 1824, manufacturing began to be developed in certain districts of New England and the Middle Atlantic states prior to the Civil War; but the country as a whole was untouched by the factory system, being predominantly agricultural in its interests and modes of living. There were no great cities in the United States in these early times

and fewer than a half-dozen millionaires; people lived comfortably and prodigally; there was virtual equality of material possessions and always an opportunity for the man who was unsuccessful in urban occupations to make a new start on a western farm. In many respects the conditions of life of Webster and Lincoln were substantially the same as those of George Washington and Benjamin Franklin; and there was in no sense the profound contrast that we have between the times of Lincoln and those we live in today.

A number of things conspired to introduce a new economic and social order into American life in the sixties and seventies. The high war tariffs caused men of capital to invest their money in manufacturing; and government contracts for war supplies gave impetus to this development. The government embarked on a policy of giving vast grants of land to railroads; and soon a steel network covered the country from coast to coast. The passage of the free homestead act of 1862 caused a rush of population toward the West, a movement that was vastly stimulated by the opening up of the remoter regions by the railroads. These various factors reacted upon each other: thus, the railroads called upon the factories for the manufacture of steel rails and locomotives, and by means of their iron highways supplied new markets for the eastern manufacturers as well as for the western farmers. The unprecedented activity along all lines of economic endeavor imposed new demands upon American inventive genius to which it responded with countless new appliances and machinery for farm and factory.

So rapid and comprehensive were the changes that occurred in the two decades following Lincoln's inauguration that only one term adequately characterizes them: "economic revolution." In contrast to the much better known industrial revolution in England, the economic revolution in the United States was not merely a revolution in manufacturing processes, but also an agricultural revolution and a revolution in transportation. The United States became transformed in a generation from a nation employing primitive methods of agriculture and importing most of her manufactures from abroad, into an industrialized country with an export trade in agricultural and manufactured products that reached the outer fringes of the globe. In a proper understanding of this great transformation the history teacher may find the silken cord that led Theseus out of the labyrinth; it is to this new economic basis of American life that the historian must ascribe the characteristic events of recent history—the new issues, the changed character of parties, the growing conflict between capital and labor, modern social questions, indeed our very intellectual and cultural ideals and habits.

The full force of these new energies was not immediately apparent because of the survival of certain Civil War questions which occupied public attention, especially questions relating to the Southern negro and the political reconstruction of the South. With the truer perspective made possible by the passage of

years, we are already beginning to place less emphasis upon southern reconstruction and more upon northern reconstruction, for the financial and industrial reorganization of the North has proven to be of greater enduring importance. The Republican party reaped all the benefits which came of being the party that had preserved the Union; and for a generation they were able to rally popular support, when everything else failed, through emotional appeals to voters based upon the past glories of the party. After all, this appeal to ancient shibboleths and the resulting confusion of obsolete with living issues served merely as a shield, behind which the new manufacturing and capitalist class strongly entrenched themselves in the party and promoted business prosperity undisturbed by governmental interference. James G. Blaine was a type of Republican statesman who never tired of "waving the bloody shirt," but his good name is forever clouded in American history because of his highly questionable relations, while in public office, with railroad corporations.

The great leaders of the recent period were a product of the changed conditions of American life. The new school of statesmen have been men of a practical stamp, not profound students of history like Jefferson nor keen theoreticians like Calhoun, nor great orators like Webster. They have been men of affairs interested in directing the energies of the government to the development of the natural resources of the country and to the building up of gigantic business enterprises. Some of these men were corrupt and unscrupulous; but most of them were sincere and patriotic, believing, rightly or wrongly, that the national prosperity depended upon the accumulation of wealth in a few hands. The newer statesmanship was represented by such men as Roscoe Conkling, of New York; James G. Blaine, of Maine; Samuel J. Randall, of Pennsylvania; Mark Hanna, of Ohio, and Boise Penrose, of Pennsylvania. All these men made a strong impression on their contemporaries, but few of their names will live in history.

Since the advancement of business became the chief concern of Congress and the state legislatures and since these bodies had important franchises and subsidies to bestow, the recent period has been characterized by the attempt of the corporate interests to dominate our political life in much the same way that the cotton interests of the South had done in the years before the Civil War. This tendency has, on its worst side, led to a commercialization of politics such as had been unknown in *ante-bellum* times. The corruption of voters and the expenditure of vast sums in elections were no doubt a natural accompaniment of campaigns in which vital economic policies, such as the tariff and "sound money," were at stake. But by 1900 the public conscience revolted against these practices which threatened to poison the very springs of democratic government; and since that time much legislation has been enacted to mitigate the power of wealth in elections and to rejuvenate popular control through such agencies as the direct primaries and the initiative and referendum.

As I have already indicated, the economic revolution had three aspects: railway expansion, agricultural expansion, and industrial expansion. A more detailed examination of these phases will serve to emphasize their close relationship with the making of modern America. The rapid increase in railroad mileage facilitated the settlement of the West and led to so swift an increase of population that by 1900 the Union had grown in forty years from thirty-three states to forty-five. Along with the colonization of the West occurred the disappearance of the frontier and the exhaustion of the arable lands in the gift of the government. Since this latter occurrence in the nineties, life has become a more difficult struggle for the men who cannot make their way against the fierce competition of the great industrial centers, for the traditional opportunity of making a new start in the West under more favorable conditions has been shut off. In turn, the problem of reclaiming and irrigating the less desirable tracts left in the government's keeping has taken form in what we call the "conservation movement."

In another way railway expansion has affected recent American history. The unscrupulous practices of the railroads in the earlier years of overcharging and discriminating against the western settlers led to a great farmers' movement of protest which has found a place in history as the "granger movement." The outcome of this early attempt of American farmers at organized action was the enactment of the first state legislation to regulate railroads and, soon thereafter, the passage of the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887. These laws were of epochal importance, for they represented the first systematic effort of the government to cope with the growing evils of corporate wealth.

The agricultural expansion following the Civil War also left its impress on recent history. The expansion of farming was too rapid for the needs of the country; "overproduction" followed, causing low prices for farm products and a prolonged period of hard times for the rural population. These were ideal conditions for the fertilization of discontent and unrest; and we find that until the close of the century the agricultural population proved a hotbed of radicalism. Thus it happened that such movements as greenback inflation, free silver and Populism recruited their chief strength from the farming states. Not until about 1900 did the farmers take their place as the great conservative force in American society; by that time the advent of more favorable prices and the advantages derived from the protective tariffs of 1890 and 1897 had made farming profitable again.

The rise of manufacturing and the rapid spread of the factory system in America have perhaps produced the most enduring effects of any that have been caused by the economic revolution. The new manufacturing class have gone a long way toward controlling the domestic policies of the nation with the result that "sound money," trust regulation and the protective tariff have been the principal election issues of the modern period. Moreover, the new dip-

lomatic interests of the United States since the Civil War have been an inevitable consequence of the transformation of the United States from an importing nation to the greatest exporting country of the world. The great accumulation of capital and vast growth in farm and factory production have demanded ample foreign markets and opportunities for investment; and this need has turned the attention of our diplomats to the backward and undeveloped regions of the globe. Thus, American foreign policy has been chiefly engaged with the annexation of islands in the Pacific Ocean, the construction of an isthmian canal, the promotion of trade with China and Japan and the fostering of commerce with Latin America. America has been forced to issue from her chrysalis of isolation and become a world power.

The expansion of industry meant the employment of great numbers of men and women as wage-earners in factories and was thereby responsible for creating the modern labor problem. As industries were virtually unregulated by law until the nineties, the situation of the working class in regard to wages, hours and conditions of labor was utterly wretched and contrary to American traditions. Since the government was not disposed at first to mitigate these conditions, the workingmen were forced to resort to self-help. Imitating the great combinations of capital, they combined together in trade unions, the Knights of Labor, the American Federation of Labor and various labor parties. The country became torn periodically by tremendous strikes and conflicts between capital and labor until finally the government was forced to step in and remove some of the worst evils from which the working class suffered. Many injustices, real and fancied, remained however and constitute some of the most disturbing questions of the present day.

Another phase of our industrial development was the attraction to our shores of great hordes of foreigners who saw a chance for livelihood in the factories and mines. The advent of this new immigration was responsible for many new problems in American life. It greatly complicated the labor problem and imported into America schemes of social regeneration ranging from political Socialism to revolutionary anarchism. It also rendered more difficult the problem of assimilation and made a foreign war a dangerous undertaking for the country because of the powerful racial groups which still retained a sentimental allegiance to the lands of their birth.

But the basic importance of the economic revolution to an understanding of modern America cannot be dismissed with a discussion of these concrete aspects of recent American development. Many of the intangible values and intellectual standards of our times are directly attributable to the economic background of recent history. The high degree of specialization and the keen competition of modern life have lent a feverish intensity to living. The "pursuit of happiness," proclaimed by the Declaration of Independence as an inalienable right, has ceased to be a leisurely and beguiling occupation and has become a

frenzied and breathless chase. The ceaseless activity and jaded mental condition of the average American have led him to value brevity above all other virtues in his interests outside of business hours. "Short orders" in the restaurants, vaudeville in the theatres, headline summaries in the newspapers, short stories in literature are all symptoms of this state of mind.

The importance of science and industrial efficiency has placed a premium upon the cultivation of the *practical* in all departments of human endeavor. In the sphere of education the older ideals of a liberal education have been forced to yield to the demands for vocational training and professional and technical education. Not only are engineering and journalism taught in our colleges, but chicken-feeding and horse-shoeing as well. In literature the romantic school typified by Cooper, Irving and Hawthorne has succumbed to the realistic writings of Howells and James, and sociological fiction of Henry Sydnor Harrison, Upton Sinclair and Winston Churchill. In the field of history the *social* point of view has become the characteristic mark of the present generation of historians; and the very concept of an "economic interpretation of history" is the product of an industrial age. In the field of philosophy the dominant note has come to be pragmatism. Even religion has turned from the contemplation of theological abstractions and is seeking to apply its precepts to the stubborn realities of chaotic modern life or else to make its appeal through its assurance of physical health as well as spiritual peace.

In a word, the economic revolution is the great unescapable fact of the modern American period. It is the foundation upon which the superstructure of human relationships, political, social and economic, has been built.

In the *American Historical Review* for October (Vol. XXVI, No. 1) the managing editor, Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, takes occasion, upon the completion of the first quarter century of the *Review's* life, to relate fully for the first time how the journal came to be founded. During 1894, at Harvard, Cornell and Pennsylvania, plans were being made for the creation of historical periodicals. With the spirit of co-operation, of sympathy and of courtesy which have marked the fellowship of American historians, these several enterprises were brought together, and the *Review* was the result. Supported for a time by a guarantee fund from individual subscribers, in 1897 and 1898 it became the organ of the American Historical Association; but not until 1916 did the legal title of the Board of Editors in the *Review* pass to the Association.

Dr. Jameson also reviews briefly the history of the *Review* down to 1920. He points out the serious care taken with the book reviews, the character of the contributed articles, and the source of the valuable notes upon historical scholars and their work. The World War has resulted in a much-desired awakening of interest in the history of modern Europe, and it "has caused historical scholars to ask themselves, more searchingly than ever before, what things in history are most worth while, what lines of historical investigation are most likely to be profitable toward the instruction of mankind."

The Method of History Instruction Used in the Bucyrus High School¹

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I. INTRODUCTION

An indictment of the present method of history instruction in our secondary schools.

During the last decade there has been manifested, among many progressive history teachers, considerable dissatisfaction with the method of history instruction now prevailing in our high schools. Within the past few years this dissatisfaction has developed with increasing force. The indictment brought against the present method may be considered under five counts:

1. The prevailing method places too much emphasis upon the text-books. The daily recitation consists almost wholly of a topical discussion of certain assigned pages in the text. The student is questioned by the teacher on the assignment. It is true that, in some instances, outside reading is assigned, reports on special topics given, considerable map work required, and term papers on important subjects called for, but all these play only a minor part in the recitation. In the last analysis, the student studies a text rather than a subject, whereas, according to the progressives, the process should be the reverse.

2. The prevailing method does not develop the initiative of the students. In the recitation the initiative is with the instructor. The student contributes to the recitation only what he is required to in answer to the teacher's queries. He assumes the attitude of passivity. Here again, says your progressive, the process should be reversed. The student should be enthroned and given the initiative; the teacher should be dethroned (by being compelled to abdicate).

3. The prevailing method is too individualistic, and does not develop the co-operative spirit. The present method insists that each student shall work individually at his task, but provides no way in which a strong student can co-operate with and aid a weak student in mastering his tasks. Co-operation, it is argued, benefits both the capable and the weak, and should have a part in a scientific method of instruction.

4. The prevailing method essays to teach the students too much history. We try to cram the pupils full of organized facts concerning certain periods of man's development, with the result that he leaves the course confused, rather than enlightened. In short, by trying to teach too much history, we teach very little of it. The progressive argues that we need to teach the big outstanding facts in man's progress, and not obscure the big things with masses of unintelligible detail. The trees must not hide the forest.

5. The prevailing method makes no provision for training the student in the processes of investigation. He gets the information required of him in the best way he can, even though that way may be poor. The

accumulation of facts is the important thing, rather than the way the facts are obtained. Readily admitting that a certain minimum of facts is necessary, it is quite as important to be able to get these facts in a scientific manner. The progressive retorts that a method that emphasizes the accumulation of facts almost exclusively, and does not train in how to get facts, is deficient and defective.

There is much in this indictment that is true, and it has led some teachers of history to seek a method of instruction through experimentation that would overcome the drawbacks of the traditional process.

The plan that I shall explain today has been worked out in an effort to meet the objections raised by the critics of the traditional method.

II. EQUIPMENT USED

In order that we may get the right approach to a study of the "Bucyrus Experiment" proper, it will be necessary for us to give some consideration at this point to the equipment that is used in the course.

Every student is required to purchase a text-book, although the text is used in only a very limited way. It is used chiefly to lend continuity to the study by bridging over gaps not covered by the daily problems, and for reviewing purposes. It is my sober judgment that the text can be discarded altogether without injury to the course, but in Bucyrus we have not gone that far.

Another book that the student is asked to provide himself with is a notebook. This is one of the most important tools with which he works. It contains his problems, outline maps and material which he has acquired in his investigations. The way the notebook is used will be discussed in detail later on in the paper.

Another important tool is the history library, which is housed in the history recitation-room. The work is based almost entirely upon material obtained in this library. This library has required quite an initial financial outlay, but with additions every year, which will not require large financial expenditure, a high-grade history library will soon be built up. Our library at present serves us well, and is quite superior to the history libraries found in most of our high schools. We have grouped the books selected for our library into two classes: First, the major reference books, which are used the most, are general in character and cover a wide range, have been purchased at the ratio of one book for every two pupils. Such books as Thorndike's "History of Medieval Europe," Hayes's "A Political and Social History of Modern Europe," Schapiro's "Modern and Contem-

¹ Paper read at the joint meeting of the Ohio Valley Historical Association and the Ohio History Teachers' Association, at Columbus, Ohio, October 15 and 16, 1920.

porary European History," etc., would come in this class. Second, the minor reference books, which are somewhat detailed and cover only a very limited period, have been purchased at the ratio of one book for every five pupils. Examples of such books are Archer and Kingsford's "The Crusades," Seebohm's "The Protestant Reformation," Holt and Chilton's "European History, 1789-1815."

In connection with our history library, we make free use of the city library, which we have found valuable for reports on special topics, papers and recent events.

Another bit of equipment that should be mentioned here is the maps. Wall maps have been provided as well as outline maps which from time to time are given to the students to be filled out with important geographical information.

III. THE CLASS PERIOD: THE DISCUSSION

Having considered the equipment that is used in the course, we are now ready to give attention to an analysis of the class period. We can get a proper perspective of the work if we follow through the class period from its beginning to the end.

The class period is 70 minutes long and is divided into two periods. The first, 30 minutes long, is devoted to discussion, and the second, 40 minutes long, is used for investigation.

The discussion comes first. As soon as the class has assembled, the secretary, a student elected by the class, asks for the topic for review, that is, the subject of the previous day's lesson. This is given by some student who volunteers. If the answer is wrong or incomplete, other volunteers make the necessary corrections or give the additional information. If no one volunteers, the secretary calls on different members of the class until the correct information is obtained.

Then comes the review, which is given by a student who has been chosen the previous day for this task. The purpose of the review is twofold: (1) it aims to sum up briefly the salient features of the problem which has been considered to date, and (2) it seeks to give perspective or background for the work of the day. The review is limited to four minutes. After the review, corrections and additions are made by different students voluntarily, and the secretary exercises the right to call for any information not voluntarily given.

The secretary then asks for the topic of the day's discussion, and when this is covered satisfactorily, the secretary turns over the work of the day to the discussion leader, who has been chosen by the secretary the preceding day for this work.

The discussion leader then announces that the first problem is open for consideration. Any person desiring to contribute anything toward the solution of the problem voluntarily arises and talks. Voluntary contributions continue until the problem has been disposed of to the satisfaction of the leader. If volunteering lags or if no one volunteers, the leader calls on different members of the class for contributions and even asks pointed questions on the prob-

lem. Those who do not usually volunteer are the ones most frequently called upon.

A similar policy is pursued until all the problems are discussed adequately.

This work should not consume more than 25 minutes. It is not an easy task to keep a discussion that is at all reasonably thorough and comprehensive within such bounds. Only careful planning and student co-operation will make this possible.

During the discussion period, the instructor is merely an onlooker and does not interfere with the work at hand unless it gets out of proper bounds. It is highly advisable that the students be made to feel that the discussion is theirs, that they are responsible for it and that it should be handled properly without dependence upon the teacher.

After the students have finished discussing the problems of the day's work, the instructor comments on the discussion. This should never go beyond five minutes. These comments consist of explanations of difficulties not well covered in the discussion, answering questions, presenting some material in a new light or calling attention to the big, outstanding features of the lesson. It is well not to give any information that the student can readily find for himself. I frequently use the five minutes to question those who have not contributed anything to the discussion. It serves somewhat to spur the pupils on to answer every problem in the day's assignment and gives the instructor a means of testing whether all the day's work has been done.

The next step is the selection by the secretary of a discussion leader for the following day and the discussion leader chooses some one to take the review. If it happens to be a Monday's recitation, the class selects a secretary, in the usual parliamentary way, for the following week.

Problems of the day are then given out by the instructor. These have been mimeographed in the superintendent's office and each student is furnished a copy gratis. The problems for each day are printed on one sheet. Each sheet is punched so that when it is put in the notebook it will fall on the left side when the book is opened. On the right side, opposite the problems, the student places a sheet of blank paper, also punched, upon which he writes the answers to the problems.

If reports, map work, essays on special topics, etc., are to form a part of the next day's lesson, these assignments are made after the problems have been distributed.

The assignment for the next day marks the close of the discussion and the beginning of the last phase of the class period, the investigation part of the work.

IV. THE CLASS PERIOD: THE INVESTIGATION

After the problems have been distributed and placed in the notebooks, the pupils then proceed to collect and digest material in an effort to solve these problems. In order that the problems may be solved by the average student within the period allowed for investigation, the number is limited to six or eight. Before the students begin work on the problems, the

instructor calls the attention of the class to those books in the library that will be found most helpful in the work.

During the first 25 minutes, the students work independently on the problems. They are urged to use at least two different books for each problem. The material collected, say on problem No. 1, is written down in ink on the sheet opposite the problems. When the student is satisfied that he has solved the problem, he proceeds to the next and treats it in the same way. Then the remaining problems are considered and a satisfactory answer for each sought.

In this work, the student is urged to guard against giving too much time to one or two problems. There is often a disposition to slight some problems and work out others thoroughly. Speed and accuracy, as well as comprehensiveness, are encouraged.

During this period, the instructor aids the pupils individually. They are taught how to use an index rapidly, how to determine what material can be used, how to condense it and how to use books to obtain additional material. To be able to use a history library with due regard to rapidity and accuracy is a process of growth and requires time for development. During the past year, at least two-thirds of our students acquired the ability to use the history library reasonably well. Such an accomplishment was well worth the time and effort spent on it. If this work is to be well done, the instructor must be constantly "on the job." Otherwise, the students will waste time and develop poor methods of investigation.

The last part of the period is given over to co-operative activity and occupies 15 minutes. The class, which usually has about 25 students, is divided into groups of five. Each group is under a group leader. The group leader is selected by the instructor and is a pupil of A No. 1 scholarship and leadership. During this period, difficulties encountered by the students in the preceding part of the period are thrashed out and some conclusion reached. In this group conference, the poor student can obtain aid in surmounting some of his difficulties. The group leader is held responsible for the work of the members of his group and this spurs him on to see that every one in his group makes his contribution. In helping weak students, we have proceeded on the principle that the pupils should be aided to help themselves and should not have the answers to the problems turned over to them. During this part of the period, the instructor moves from group to group and by suggestion aids the pupils in their work.

In this work, another problem presents itself, namely, keeping the conferences from degenerating into meaningless wrangling over certain points in the lesson. Much depends upon the group leader and by suggestion and careful supervision the instructor can make these conferences constructively worth while to the students. I have found it very helpful to meet the group leaders once a week in conference

where plans are laid for the coming week.

Before leaving this phase of the subject, I want to call attention to the great importance of the investigating period—it is the keystone of the whole scheme. It is far more important than the discussion period, for if the investigating period is properly used, the discussion the next day will be eminently satisfactory. Unless the instructor puts the best that he has into every minute of this period, it will not produce the results desired. Failure to make the investigating period efficient will scrap the whole plan.

V. DEVICES FOR CREATING INTEREST IN THE WORK

Obviously, if every recitation is carried on as already indicated, interest in the work would tend to lag from sameness of procedure. To keep interest at a high level, various devices have been introduced. Let us now give brief consideration to a few that have been used in Bucyrus.

In the arrangement of the classroom, the conventional plan has been departed from. At the head of the class sits the discussion leader, and at the right of the leader are two parallel rows of chairs, and, at the left of the leader, there are also two parallel rows of chairs. These rows face the center of the classroom. This scheme of seating permits the student, when reciting, to talk to the class rather than to the instructor. Our experience has been that this plan serves to create and enliven interest in the work.

Contests between different sections will also stimulate students to do first-class work. The desire to win is strong among boys and girls, and a well-worked-out contest between the sections should help considerably in promoting good scholarship. Last fall, I tried such a scheme in my class in modern history. The contest was for a period of eight weeks, and at the end of each week the rating of each section was placed on a scoring device on the front board of the classroom. This contest not only created interest but improved scholarship standings.

Another plan is contests between two groups in the same section. This can be easily done by allowing two students to choose up and then seat one side on the left of the discussion leader and the other side on the right of the discussion leader. The side making the best scholarship rating for a given period is declared the winner. In the spring, I tried this plan in my five sections of modern history. The contest covered eight weeks and the losing side was to banquet the winning side. In the interest created, this contest surpassed my fondest expectations. Many students, heretofore indifferent, became vitally interested in the work.

Still another device is to devote a recitation occasionally to a debate on some subject connected with the history work. Last spring at the close of our consideration of the industrial revolution, we staged a debate on whether the industrial revolution had done more harm than good. This debate, like many others that were held, served to create much interest and enthusiasm.

Interest may also be created by excusing from the

monthly examination those who attain a certain standard of scholarship during the month. This is not only a legitimate thing to do in that it rewards merit, but it can be made an excellent vehicle for stimulating and sustaining interest in the work.

Still again, it is often advantageous for the instructor at different times to act as discussion leader. It lends variety to the recitation and serves to keep up interest.

Of course it should be observed that there will be some, even though the above and many more devices be used, who will never become interested in the work. The solution of such problems will depend largely on the patience and ingenuity of the instructor and personal work with the uninterested students.

VI. CRITICISMS OF THIS METHOD

Against the method, already outlined, there has been some criticism. The objections raised can be reduced to two propositions. First, it is held that students will prepare on one or two problems, recite on these and ignore the other problems. In a word, the method under consideration is more likely to lead to the pupils studying only a part of the day's lesson than is the case under the traditional method. Second, it is contended that the day's assignment can be covered more thoroughly if the instructor questions the students. Let us take up these criticisms in order and consider their validity.

At first blush, there seems to be some truth to the first criticism, but an analysis of the method shows that the criticism is not valid. If the instructor will call in the notebooks frequently and without notice, he can readily determine who are and who are not answering the problems, for on the sheet opposite each page of problems, the pupil is required to write his answers to the problems. If there are frequent pages with only a few problems answered, he can conclude that the student has not been doing the work required of him. Then the teacher can deal with the loafer individually. Furthermore, the instructor can act frequently as discussion leader, and by skilful questioning of those suspected of loafing can readily find out whether the suspicion is well founded. Such questioning will invariably discourage the practice of working out only a few problems. Moreover, frequent written lessons in which the students are asked to write out the answers to all the problems in the day's work, not only will indicate beyond dispute those who are failing to do their full measure of work, but will also serve as a powerful deterrent against shirking. Again, students realize that if they prepare on only a few problems and then cannot recite on them because others are first to volunteer their day's work is lost and their task of reciting at least three times a week as a minimum is made more difficult. Hence, the tendency to prepare on all the problems. In my experience, I have found the students more likely to prepare the entire lesson under the new method than under the traditional plan.

The second criticism does not seem to have great weight. If the students are taught to investigate the problems thoroughly in the investigation period, the

problems will be carefully covered the next day in the discussion. If perchance any important matter is omitted, the instructor can bring this out by careful questioning at the close of the discussion. My experience has shown that under the new method the day's work is as thoroughly handled by the students as under the old way.

I am forced to the conclusion that if the new method breaks down and shows any weakness it is not the fault of the method but is rather due to the lack of acuteness and versatility on the part of the instructor.

VII. RESULTS ACHIEVED BY THIS METHOD

We have used this method in Bucyrus for a little over a year, and, while it is probably too early to pass final judgment on it, certain important things have been achieved in the short time it has been used.

Here are some of the important results:

(1) The text has been relegated to a minor place in the course, and the subject rather than the text is taught.

(2) Student initiative has been encouraged and developed. The instructor has abdicated, the students have been enthroned.

(3) Co-operative activity among the students has been added to individual initiative with excellent results.

(4) Training in the elementary principles of investigation has definitely supplanted the old "hit and miss" plan of study.

(5) Less historical information is imparted than under the old method, but the history taught has been taught more thoroughly and has been made more purposeful.

(6) The students under the new order of things have become vastly more interested in history than under the other plan.

These results have surpassed our fondest expectations and are a most hopeful portent for the future. We believe that the new method has placed our history teaching on a higher plane than it was before.

VIII. CONCLUSION

In this brief paper, I have sought to give only a bird's-eye view of the method we are trying out in the Bucyrus High School. A detailed analysis has been purposely omitted, because such an account would occupy more time than has been allotted to me. The method discussed is not offered as a "cure-all" for the ills of history teaching in our secondary schools. It is merely advanced as an honest attempt to improve the technique of history instruction. With some of the views expressed, there will doubtless be some dissent—among some probably strong dissent—but if I have awakened among any of you a desire to get away from the beaten path of history pedagogics and try to find a better method of presenting historical truths to the minds of our high school boys and girls, I shall feel that my effort here today has been productive of some good. When we begin to experiment sanely in this matter, and not until then, will we be able to evolve a more purposeful and scientific method of history teaching. In such a course lies progress.

PACIFIC COAST BRANCH

The Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association held its sixteenth annual meeting at Los Angeles, Friday and Saturday, November 26th and 27th. The following program was provided:

Friday morning, Professor Waldemar C. Westergaard presiding: (1) The Hoover Collection, Professor H. R. Lutz, Stanford University; (2) Latin-American History, Professor P. A. Martin, Stanford University; (3) California History, Dr. O. C. Coy, Historical Survey Commission.

Friday afternoon: (A) Business session. (1) Reports of committees; (2) election of officers; (3) new business. (B) General session, Professor R. G. Cleland presiding. Topic: The Contributions of the Social Sciences to Education. (1) Political Science, Professor R. D. Hunt, University of Southern California; (2) Economics, Professor Summer, Pomona College; (3) History, Professor V. J. Farrar, University of Washington.

Friday evening: The annual dinner, Clark Hotel, Professor H. E. Bolton presiding. (1) The President's annual address, Religious Influence in History of West, Professor Levy Edgar Young, University of Utah; (2) Informal addresses.

Saturday morning: University of Southern California teachers' session, W. F. Bliss presiding, State Normal School, San Diego. Topic: The Social Sciences and Education for Citizenship in the Schools. (1) Proposed Programs, Professor E. Dawson, Hunter College, New York City; (2) discussion, opened by R. L. Ashley, Pasadena High School, Miss Maud Phillips; (3) general discussion.

BOOK REVIEWS

TURNER, FREDERICK JACKSON. *The Frontier in American History*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1920. Pp. 375.

In this volume, which appears in the decennial year of Professor Turner's service at Harvard, are reprinted thirteen essays written by him between the year 1893 and the present. The first essay is that entitled "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," which, originally presented to the American Historical Association at the annual meeting of 1893, has become one of the most familiar and one of the most highly esteemed of historical essays written by American scholars. Except in the case of the first, the order of the essays as they appear in the volume is roughly determined by the chronology or interrelation of their subject matter, rather than by the time of first publication. The third chapter is the essay upon "The Old West," which first appeared in the Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin for 1908. Although perhaps known to a somewhat narrower circle of special students than the first, it is the most extensive of all the papers, and is exceeded by none in the definite and important contribution which it has made to historical scholarship. The second chapter, which treats of "The First Official Frontier of the Massachusetts Bay," is one of the more recent papers, contributed by the author in 1914 to the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, and develops in greater detail one of the phases of the paper previously noted. Other regional studies are those upon "The Middle West," "The Ohio Valley in American History," and "The Significance of the Mississippi Valley in

American History." There follow three papers published in the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1896, 1897 and 1903 respectively. The remaining chapters comprise various commencement addresses, a Presidential address, and a war-time address delivered at the dedication of the new building of the State Historical Society of Minnesota. While these later essays are highly suggestive, contain brilliant generalizations, and rise to stylistic heights not found in Professor Turner's earlier work, they are to some degree "inspirational"—to use a word beloved of "educators"—rather than historical, and one is conscious that there is no little repetition.

By collecting these essays into one book, Professor Turner has conferred a boon upon the teacher and the librarian; and the volume will at once take its place as one of the essentials of the reference shelf. But the special student and, we believe, the general reader will await with keen expectation the time when Professor Turner shall throw into a connected whole the results of his long, intensive cultivation of his chosen field, embodying therein not merely the best of the contents of these essays, but the equally rich fruitage of other monographic studies which are here omitted, and of investigations which have thus far remained unpublished.

St. G. L. S.

CHEYNEY, EDWARD P. *An Introduction to the Industrial and Social History of England*. Revised Edition. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1920. Pp. xiii, 386.

The well-known and widely used work by Professor Cheyney has been revised and enlarged in this edition. The new form contains at least one-third more material than the old work. The first eight chapters, covering the narrative down to the close of the Industrial Revolution, has been retained almost without change. The chapters dealing with industrial history since 1820 have been much enlarged. In the earlier edition there were but two chapters for this period, entitled "The Extension of Government Control," and "The Extension of Voluntary Association"; the new volume has four chapters, headed "The Predominance of the Individualistic Ideal, 1820-1848," "The Spirit of Combined Action, 1848-1878," "Liberal Influences on Industrial Life, 1878-1906," and "Democratic Influences on Industrial Life, 1906-1920." It is in the last two chapters that Professor Cheyney narrates in his clear, dispassionate style the remarkable social and industrial changes which have taken place in modern England. Teachers and students, as well as the mythical "general reader," will welcome this calm portrayal of movements and struggles which have aroused so much heat and discussion. It is to be regretted that the writer did not go more fully into the war-time control of industry, the steps taken for reconstruction, and the attitude of British labor toward the World War and international relations.

Readers of the first edition will greatly deplore the cutting down of the number of illustrations from forty-five to nine, and even those retained are so poorly printed that they might as well have been omitted. If the high cost of coated paper is forcing us into a period of unillustrated books, it should be the duty of publishers to develop line drawings which can be reproduced on a rough surface. One additional map has been added, and the bibliographies have been brought down to date by the insertion of the titles of recent publications.

BECKER, CARL. The United States an Experiment in Democracy. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1920. Pp. 333.

This is not a textbook, but a series of ten essays upon the origin and development of American democracy. The chapters are arranged in a general chronological order, dealing with certain of the problems which American democracy has been called upon to solve, such as governmental organization, free land, slavery, immigration, and education. Upon each of these topics Professor Becker has given, not a detailed account of the facts, but a series of incisive and thought-compelling interpretations and generalizations. The special student of these topics may not agree with all the author's deductions, but he will find the treatment sane, and the deductions stimulating. The chronological order is broken somewhat abruptly in Chapter IV, where the discussion of democratic governmental machinery is carried down to 1919, and the following chapter reverts to foreign policies mainly of the period 1789 to 1823. The closing chapter is devoted to a study of the attempts of democracy to attain equality for its members. "It is indeed questionable whether industrial liberty, or liberty in any sense, can be achieved through the activities of a state which, on the assumption that it speaks for a majority, can frame its own code of international conduct and dictate its own conception of truth and morals."

"The time for national complacency is past. The sentimentalism which turns away from facts to feed on platitudes, the provincialism which fears ideas and plays at politics in the spirit of the gambler or the amateur, will no longer serve. The time has come when the people of the United States must bring all their intelligence and all their idealism to the consideration of the subtler realities of human relations, as they have formerly to the much simpler realities of material existence; this at least they must do if America is to be in the future what it has been in the past—a fruitful experiment in democracy."

BOOKS ON HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT PUBLISHED IN THE UNITED STATES FROM SEPTEMBER 25

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AMERICAN HISTORY

- Bailey, Edith A. Influences toward radicalism in Connecticut, 1754-1775. Northampton, Mass.: Smith College, Dept. of History. Various paging. (3½ pp. bibl.) 75 cents.
- Bicknell, Thomas W., and others. The history of the state of Rhode Island and Providence plantations. 3 vols. N. Y.: American Historical Society. \$30.00, net.
- Burrage, Champlin, editor. An answer to John Robinson of Leyden by a Pilgrim friend. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press. 94 pp. \$2.00, net.
- Dark, Richard. The quest of the Indies. N. Y.: Stokes. 241 pp. \$2.25, net.
- Dunnack, Henry S. The Maine book. Augusta, Me.: Maine State Library. 338 pp. (3 pp. bibl.) \$1.00.
- Dyer, Gustavus W. A school history of Tennessee. Chicago: Nat'l Book Co. 279 pp. 75 cents.
- Ivey, Paul W. The Pere Marquette railroad company [bound with The Michigan Fur Trade, by Ida A. Johnson]. Lansing, Mich.: Mich. Hist. Comm. Various paging. (2 pp. bibl.) \$1.00.
- Johnson, Ida A. The Michigan Fur Trade [bound with The Pere Marquette railroad, by Paul W. Ivey]. 209 pp. (9 pp. bibl.) \$1.00.

Johnson, Willis F. History of the Republican Party. N. Y.: Century History Co., 117-118 W. 48th St. 118 pp. (1 p. bibl.) 60 cents.

Landis, Charles I. Captain William Trent, an Indian trader. Lancaster, Pa.: New Era Pr. Co. 25 cents, net.

Matthews, Mrs. Pitt L. History stories of Alabama. Dallas, Texas: Southern Pub. Co. 343 pp. \$1.25, net.

Mourelle, Francisco Antonio. Voyage of the *Sonora* in the second Bucareli expedition to explore the Northwest coast, survey the port of San Francisco, and found Franciscan missions and a presidio and pueblo at that port; the journal kept in 1775 on the *Sonora*. San Francisco, Cal.: T. C. Russell. 120 pp. \$15.00.

Pittsburgh, Carnegie Library. The Pilgrims: Selected material for use in connection with the Pilgrim tercentenary celebration. Pittsburgh, Pa.: Carnegie Library. 13 pp.

Spooner, Walter W. The Democratic Party; a history. N. Y.: Liberty History Co., 156 Fifth Ave. 124 pp. (1 p. bibl.) 60 cents.

Turner, Frederick J. The frontier in American history. N. Y.: Holt. 375 pp. \$2.50, net.

ANCIENT HISTORY

Marshall, F. H. Discovery in Greek lands; a sketch of the discoveries and explorations of the last 50 years. N. Y.: Macmillan. 127 pp. (8 pp. bibl.)

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